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CHRISTIANS BRINGING GIFTS TO THE COURT OF HATHSHEPSUT  
IN THE TOMB OF SEMAT AT THEBES.

(From a Colour-Photograph by Mr. Robert Mond, M. A., F.R.S., F.d.).

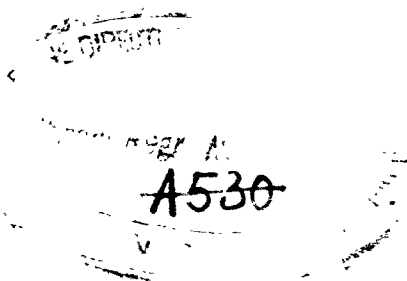
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## LACONIA.

### I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1910.

(PLATES I-VI)

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#### § 1.—THE SEASON'S WORK AND SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

THE season of 1910 closed the excavations of the School at Sparta which were begun in 1906 under the direction of Professor Bosanquet, and, although much work remains to be done in the Museum in preparing the finds for publication, especially those from the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, no further excavation is contemplated. The results achieved have been regularly reported each year, and the objects discovered at the various sites have been nearly all published, with the important exception of the great mass of objects from the Orthia Sanctuary, which are so numerous that their adequate publication will require a separate book. An important series of Byzantine painted pottery and some jewellery of the same period also await publication. The nature of these previous annual reports makes it unnecessary here to do more than give the usual short summary of the year's work which is more fully described in the following sections, and again to express the thanks of the School for the continual support of the Hellenic government, which was this year again ably represented by Doctor Rhomaïos.

The excavation began on April 16th, and continued until June 20th. The number of men employed was hardly ever over thirty, so that the whole scale of the work was much smaller than in previous years. The Director was in charge throughout, with the assistance of Messrs. Farrell and Ormerod, students of the school. Mr. George was again present and

made a number of drawings, mainly of the objects in ivory from the Orthia site. As before, Gregorios Antoniou of Larnaka was our foreman, and Joannes Katsarakis from Palaikastro in Crete, our mender.

*The Mycenaean remains near the Menelaion* (§ 2, p. 4).—The discovery of Mycenaean objects in 1909 near the Menelaion was followed up, and the remains of an extensive city belonging to the end of the Mycenaean age were found. It had been destroyed by fire, and the absence of any earlier objects suggests that its foundation does not go very far back into the pre-historic period. A series of vases, some stamped clay sealings for wine-jars, and a curious female figure were the most important finds. These are all illustrated below.

*The Eleusinion at Kalývia tes Sochás* (§ 3, p. 12).—A short excavation was made at the village of Kalývia tes Sochás at the foot of Taygetos to the south of Sparta, at the site of a temple of Demeter and Kore. No remains of the structure were found and the small finds were also scanty, but some fragments of stamped tiles and an inscription containing part of the rules for a festival in honour of the Goddesses proved that the site was correctly identified.

*The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia* (§ 4, p. 15).—A little more work was done in determining the limits of the site, and a part of a house, probably of the fifth century, connected with the Sanctuary, was excavated. Two statue bases were taken out of the foundation of the theatre, in which they were embedded. Inscriptions on them (published on p. 54, below) prove that they supported statues of *Bomonikai*. Except one smaller example, already in the Sparta Museum before our work was begun, these are the first of their class yet found.

The report in § 4 is confined to the work of 1910, and completes the series of annual reports begun in *B.S.A.* xii. The completion of the excavation now makes it possible to publish the consecutive account of the history of the Sanctuary, collected from these annual reports and the records of the excavation, which was announced last year as being in preparation. It appears in § 5, p. 18.

*Epigraphy* (§ 6, p. 54).—The most important inscriptions are the two dedications of statues of *Bomonikai* from the bases found at the Orthia and

the inscription from the Eleusinion at Kalývia tes Sochás. The archaic dedicatory inscriptions from the Orthia are left with the rest of the objects for the final publication.

Some trial-pits were made near the hamlet of Magoúla on the road to Vársova, at a site where a few objects had been found by peasants. A little pottery was found, and two stamped tiles which are shewn in Fig. 1 *h*, *i*, below (p. 13). The inscription **ΛΥΚΕΙΟΥ** suggests a shrine of Apollo Lykeios.

R. M. DAWKINS.

## LACONIA.

### I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1910.

---

#### § 2.—THE MYCENAEAN CITY NEAR THE MENELAION.

(PLATES I, II, III)

LAST year's report contained an account of the excavation of the building on the hills to the east of the Eurotas, which has been identified with the Menelaion, the shrine of Menelaos and Helen mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias.<sup>1</sup> Besides the numerous archaic objects which were then published, this work produced a few sherds of Mycenaean pottery and fragments of Mycenaean terracottas, always at a lower level than the deposits of Laconian and Geometric ware. A further clue was afforded by a Mycenaean house, which was found by a trial-pit on the eastern peak of the hill, and Tsountas' report that Mycenaean sherds were to be found on the surface in the neighbouring fields was also verified.

It therefore seemed probable that this region was the site of a Mycenaean city, and the fuller examination of these remains was the principal objective of the season's work. This was begun on May 25th, as soon as the short excavation described below at the Eleusinion of Kalývia tes Sochás was finished, and with the expert aid of our foreman Gregorios Antoniou and some twenty to thirty workmen the whole ground was carefully examined, and by the end of the campaign on June 13th the remains of an extensive Mycenaean settlement had been located.

Its position, on high ground rising directly from the eastern bank

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xv, pp. 108 *sqq.* For references to the Menelaion *v. ibid.*, footnote on p. 108.

of the Eurotas, is very striking. Seen from the site of classical Sparta the red water-worn scarps of these hills form a sharp contrast with the green plain and meadows, whilst behind them the heights of Parnon, upon which the snow lingers until summer, just appear upon the horizon. Opposite Sparta itself these hills lie some way back from the river, and only approach it in this way at a point nearly opposite its confluence with the Magoula river, withdrawing from it again at the point where it is joined by the next tributary stream from the west flowing down from Mistra. Between these two points the hills rise immediately from the Eurotas, and so steeply, that the slope has had to be cut away to make room for the carriage-road. In this way an elevated triangle is formed, bounded on the north-west by the plain, on the south-west by the Eurotas, and on the east by a ravine which opens upon it nearly opposite the point of junction of the Mistra river. South of this ravine the hills soon fall back from the bank of the river, as they do to the north of the triangle. The peak, upon which the Menelaion stands, is at the point of the triangle which overhangs the river near the chapel of Hagios Elias. Of the view enjoyed by the Mycenaean inhabitants over the plain of Sparta towards Taygetos some idea is given in the frontispiece to last year's report.<sup>1</sup> From their steep acropolis they looked down upon the future sites of classical Sparta, mediaeval Mistra, and the modern town.

It has now been shewn that the whole of this area was covered with Mycenaean houses. No traces of fortifications were observed; the natural position was so strong as to make such means of defence unnecessary. Except the Menelaion itself and the objects found with it, nothing at all of a later date than Mycenaean was found: a remarkable contrast to the classical site, which after five years' work has yielded nothing Mycenaean, except a single gem from the Sanctuary of Orthia.

Although the remains were thus extensive, they were everywhere very much destroyed, and the only house of which any well preserved remains were found, was the one near the Menelaion discovered in 1909. Elsewhere only small pieces of foundation were found, although always with Mycenaean sherds, so that no doubt is possible as to their date. The pottery was uniformly of the latest Mycenaean period (late Minoan III), and the pieces figured in this report shew that it is of the kind of which so much from Mycenae and Ialysos has been published by Furtwaengler

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xv, Frontispiece.



and Loeschcke as the 'Third Style.'<sup>1</sup> The traces of fire, which were found everywhere, shew that the city perished in a conflagration. After this the destruction was completed by the denudation due to the exposed and elevated position of the site, the house near the Menelaion owing its preservation to the shelter of the rock against which it was built.

The absence of remains earlier than late Mycenaean suggests further that the city was of no great antiquity at the time of its destruction. A careful search failed to find any tombs.

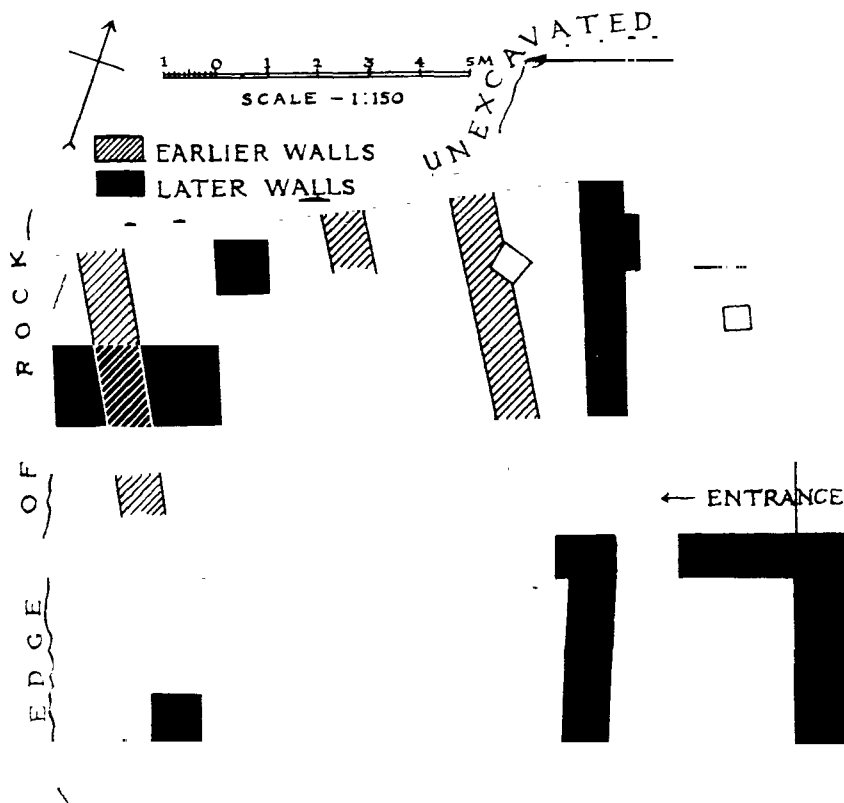


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF THE MYCENAEAN HOUSE.

The following description of the house near the Menelaion is illustrated by the plan in Fig. 1 and the view in Fig. 2, which is taken from the S.E.

<sup>1</sup> The vase shown in Pl. II, *a* is probably somewhat earlier.

corner. The dip in the distant hills beyond the Eurotas is the break in the range of Taygetos, where the Langada pass crosses to Messenia.

The ground-plan is rectangular, with an entrance on the eastern side leading into a passage, from which the rooms open. On the west it is bounded by the vertical face of the rock against which the house was built, the floor-level being a metre-and-a-half below the top of the rock, above which everything has been carried away. The north side was not fully excavated, and the two rooms to the north-east seem to belong to another house. The marks of destruction by fire were very evident. The space



FIG. 2.—VIEW OF THE MYCENAEAN HOUSE—FROM S.E. CORNER.

between the walls was filled with the red remains of burned brick, the level of the floors was marked by a layer of charred matter, and in the entrance to the south-west room were the carbonised remains of a wooden door-jamb. The construction was of rudely dressed stones without mortar, whilst for the upper part of the walls brick was clearly used. Fragments of wall-plaster shew the usual Mycenaean manner of finishing the interior of the house.

A series of vases was found, mostly in the third room to the left of the central passage and in the door-way of the opposite room. It was here that the trial-pit was made in 1909, which yielded the *askos* (Pl. II, *a*), the



only unbroken vase found. A number of painted sherds are given in Fig. 3, the majority of which came from this house. Of all this pottery the clay is yellow or pink, unless burned to grey, the slip the same, and the paint reddish-brown and lustrous.

The finest vases are three *kraters*, each about '32 m. in height, which are shewn with the necessary restorations in Pl. I. Their shape is characteristic of the latest Mycenaean pottery. At present the clay and slip are very grey, and the paint more often black than the original reddish-brown, but this is due to the action of the fire.

Two fragments are shewn in Fig. 4, which have the usual pinkish-yellow slip and red or reddish-brown paint. The more interesting is *b*, a piece of a large round-bodied vase with a design of fish.

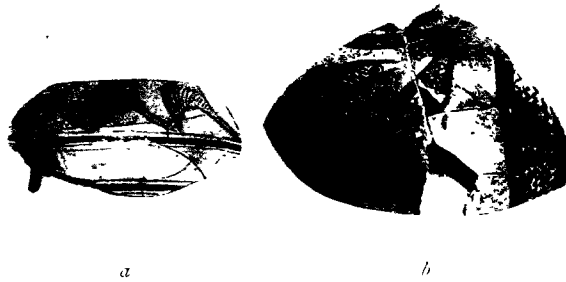


FIG. 4.—FRAGMENTS OF MYCENAEAN VASES. (SCALE 1 : 4.)

Other vases are shewn in Pl. II. Of these the house near the Menelaion yielded the plain *askos* (*a*), the three-footed bowl (*b*), which is covered with a burnished brown coat of paint, and the squat three-handled vase (*d*) with a characteristic wave-pattern. The rest (*c*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, and *i*) are from other parts of the site. The commonest form of all was a cup-like *kylix*, generally without handles, but all were so fragmentary that no photograph was possible. Of *bugelkannen* fragments of two or three small painted examples were found, and the scaled mouth of one very large specimen in plain unpainted clay, which must have measured some '16 m. across the handles.

The two clay scalings, which are shewn on Pl. III, give a new detail of Mycenaean life. They were found near the *askos* and the three *kraters*, in the house by the Menelaion. Each consists of a mass of red clay about '12 m. in diameter, with one side flat and the other convex. The convex

sides are shewn above on Pl. III; the two lower photographs shew the corresponding flat faces. With them were the fragments of the large plain jars which they had sealed, and the lower sides of the sealings shew the impress of the mouth of the jar. This is especially plain in *a*, where it can be measured as .11 m. The method of sealing was as follows. In the mouth of the jar was placed a potsherd, roughly shaped into a circular form, and below the sealing *a*, this was found still held in position by the edges of the clay. This disc prevented the soft clay from falling into the jar. On the lower faces of the sealings are the impressions of leaves, almost certainly of the vine. These leaves were evidently laid above the round sherd, to prevent any clay falling into the jar at its edges, which naturally did not fit the mouth exactly. Over these leaves was put the mass of clay

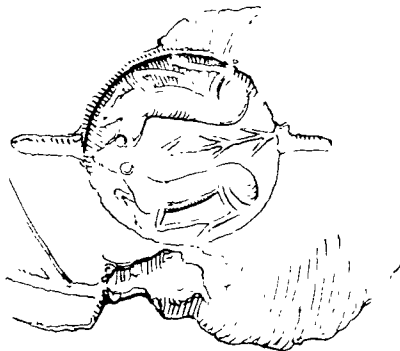


FIG. 5. —MYCENAEAN SEAL-IMPRESSION.  
(SCALE 4 : 3.)

which served as a stopper. This was kept in place by cords, whose impress on the convex side of the sealings is clearly visible in the photographs. Lastly, one of the two examples (*a*) was stamped with a lentoid Mycenaean gem in no less than nine places. The cords and the friable nature of the clay would ensure the destruction of the sealing when the jar was opened, and in this way the impressions formed a guarantee against any tampering with the stopper. The design of the seal-stone, given in Fig. 5, has been recovered from a comparison of the different impressions; it is a characteristic group of two couchant animals back to back, with a tree between them. Two depressions appear on the clay at opposite points on the edge of the stamp. These marks, which can be seen on the photograph as well as on

the drawing, are made by the ends of the bar of the ring, which passed through the hole drilled in the diameter of the gem. The preservation of these sealings is due entirely to the clay having been baked hard in the fire which destroyed the house.

In one of the destroyed houses the terracotta figure of a woman was found which is shewn in Pl. II, *z*. The height is '14 m. The surface is much damaged, and no more can be said than that it preserves traces of paint. Although it is so much smaller, the upheld arms and the columnar base give it some resemblance to the figures found in Crete, at Knossos, Priniá, and Gourniá.<sup>1</sup> The breasts are well marked, the neck long, the face no more than a prominent nose and two hollows for eyes. The head-dress is indicated, and a long tress of hair rising from the crown of the head falls down over the shoulders.

The other finds were a broken stone hammer, three conical stone spindle whorls, three very rough and much worn terracotta figures of animals, and two frit beads with striations.

The comparatively large number of vases found in the only well preserved house shews that, if the city had not suffered so much from denudation, the finds would have been considerable. As it is, there is sufficient evidence that the settlement was of some size and importance, and everything points to its belonging to the end of the Mycenaean age. Neither iron nor bronze was found. Perhaps the most interesting historical result of the excavation is the evidence for the complete break of continuity between Mycenaean and classical Sparta, bridged over only by the persistence on the earlier site, of the cult of the old hero Menelaos.

R. M. DAWKINS.

<sup>1</sup> For Knossos, *v. B.S.A.* viii, p. 99, Fig. 56; for Priniá, *v. Ath. Mitt.* xvi, Pl. xii; for Gourniá, *v. Boyd-Hawes, Gourniá*, Pl. xii, 1.

## LACONIA.

### I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1910.

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#### § 3.—THE ELEUSINION AT KALÝVIA TES SOCHÁS.

THE season opened with a small excavation at the Eleusinion at Kalývia tes Sochás or Kalývia Sochiótika, a hamlet at the foot of Taygetos about one-and-a-half hour's walk south of Sparta.

This site had already been fixed by Von Prott, who identified it with the Homeric Bryseai, but the German Archaeological Institute generously waived this prior claim in our favour. The whole question of the identification of the site has been discussed by Von Prott in connexion with the inscriptions found in and around the foundations of the destroyed church of Hagia Sophia.<sup>1</sup> This lies in the village itself; the site to which our attention was called was on the slope of the mountain immediately above the houses and gardens of the village. A few minutes to the south of Kalývia tes Sochás a fine gorge with a mountain stream runs down from Taygetos into the plain, and where the path which leads up to this gorge and the mediaeval keep at its mouth, leaves the village to climb the lower slope of the hill, it passes through a small olive grove. In this place the winter rains had cut themselves a channel, in the banks of which little lead wreaths of the sort so common at all Spartan sites had been found, first by children and later by the Ephor of Antiquities, Doctor Rhomaïos. The surface of the ground was thickly covered with small stones brought down from the mountain, but the sides of the channel in question shewed that lower down there was a layer of earth, in which the lead wreaths had

<sup>1</sup> Von Prott, *Die Ebene von Sparta*, *Ath. Mitt.* xxix, pp. 1 *sqq.* The Eleusinion is discussed on p. 8.

been found. There was, therefore, a sufficient prospect that the remains of the temple of Demeter and Kore would be found in this stratum to justify a systematic excavation.

About twenty men were employed and the work lasted from the 17th to the 21st of April. A series of pits and trenches were made, and these struck black mould at a depth of about 1.50 m. below the surface layer of earth and stones. This layer of mould was that from which the lead wreaths had come, and it yielded in almost all of our pits sufficient objects to leave no doubt that the temple stood on this site. The extent of the remains was sufficiently defined by our trenches, which, although avoiding

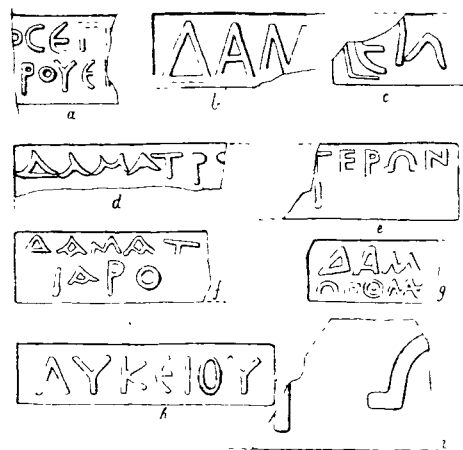


FIG. 1.—TILE-STAMPS: *a-g* FROM THE ELEUSINION.  
(SCALE 1 : 3.)

the olive-trees, covered the site well enough to make it certain that the building has been entirely destroyed. Its former existence, however, is proved by the discovery of a few stamped tiles, facsimile drawings of which are given in Fig. 1, *a-g*.<sup>1</sup> Of these, *b*, *d*, *f*, and *g*, containing parts of the word ΔΑΜΑΤΡΟΣ, are sufficient to shew that the building here was an Eleusinion, and the fragmentary inscription published by Mr. Woodward,<sup>2</sup> containing rules for the procedure at a festival of Demeter and Kore, makes the matter certain. The dedication inscriptions to these goddesses found by Von Prott at the church of Hagia Sophia in the

<sup>1</sup> The lettering on these stamps is clear except the lower line of *g*, which I cannot read.

<sup>2</sup> On pp 58 ff. below.



village must have been brought from this spot when the church was built.

Besides the stamped tiles, the inscription, and lead wreaths, the finds comprised a number of the small plain vases found at all Spartan shrines,<sup>1</sup> three complete and one broken thin bronze bracelet ending in snakes' heads, one sherd of Laconian III or IV pottery, and a few lamps and figurines of rough workmanship, the only types of any interest being seated or standing draped female figures. The legs, up to the knees, were found of a small bronze figure of a youth standing upon a small coiled up animal, perhaps a dog.

The results of the excavation therefore, as far as finds are concerned, were not great, but it had the one positive result of clearly fixing the site of the temple of the goddesses.

R. M. DAWKINS.

<sup>1</sup> Of which some 4,000 complete and 8,000 damaged examples were found at the small sanctuary on the Megalopolis road, north of Sparta, in 1907, reported in *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 169-173, with a figure. Great quantities were also found at the Orthia Sanctuary.

## LACONIA.

### I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1910.

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#### § 4.—ARTEMIS ORTHIA : THE EXCAVATION OF 1910.

(PLATES IV AND VI)

ALTHOUGH it was thought in 1909 that no more work was required at the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, a few men were employed there this year, mainly in testing outlying parts of the site. In this way a series of pits was made at the foot of the cliff which rises to the south of the hieron, and the ground behind the temple was further explored ; the former yielded no results, and the latter only confirmed the conclusions already reached as to the history of this region. The only finds were pottery, a number of lead figurines, and some pieces of carved bone, all of the kind found in previous years in similar deposits of the sixth century. Below them there was, as usual, a little Laconian I and Geometric pottery.

The most important finds were two inscribed bases of statues of *Bomonikai*, boys victorious in the contest of endurance (Pl. VI). These were taken out of the lowest part of the foundation of the theatre near Ray VII. They had been partly visible for some years, one since 1906 in the edge of the preliminary cutting called Trench B, and the other since 1907 in the curved edge of the arena. When at last they were taken out, their importance was at once evident. Like the other marbles and inscriptions found in the foundation of the theatre, they belonged to an earlier period of the hieron, and, when the theatre was built, were thrown down and used for rubble. The inscriptions, numbered 2720 and 2721, are published by Mr. Woodward on pp. 54 ff. of this volume. The top of one base, No. 2720

(Plate VI, *a*), with the archaistic inscription, shews clearly the traces of the feet of the statue, and between them, of the groove in which the *stèle* was set, on which the victor's own dedication of his prize was inscribed. The top of the other, No. 2721 (Plate VI, *b*), has a great confusion of marks, which shew that it has been used more than once, and this is supported by the existence of four lines of carefully erased writing on the opposite side to that which bears the present inscription. Among the marks on its surface a trace of a foot can be distinguished, pointing downwards in the photograph, and towards the erased inscription; it belonged to the statue for which the base was first used. Mr. Woodward dates them both to the last quarter of the second century A.D.

The last piece of work was concerned with the examination of the outer edge of the foundation of the theatre. The eastern part of this towards the river had never been completely cleared, and, although the whole surface of this region had been destroyed by the mill-stream, it was still desirable to trace the outer line of the foundation in search for any



FIG. 1.—LACONIAN V VASE-FRAGMENT WITH FIGURE OF ORTHIA.

possible irregularity, then to remove such of it as still existed, in the hope of finding inscriptions, and lastly, to examine the lower strata. The yield of inscriptions was limited to the three minute fragments, Nos. 2717-2719, now published on p. 57 below, by Mr. Woodward, and the line of the foundation continued on its regular curve up to the point where it was destroyed by the river. The results of the work below the level of the foundation appear on the plan of the site (Pl. IV). It was discovered that the houses found in 1908 to the east of the hieron extended to this region, and still further into the undug ground to the east between this and the river.<sup>1</sup> The finds were of the same character, except that more Hellenistic and less Laconian V and VI pottery was found, the greater part being black-glazed, often with incised lines or white ornament on the black ground. In the lowest levels there was a little Geometric pottery,

<sup>1</sup> The account of these houses is in *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 7-12.

and between this and the Hellenistic a few sherds of Laconian V and VI. The most interesting find was the fragment of the stalk of a kylix with the lower part of the figure of Orthia with a snake on either side, which she was probably holding in her hands. It is in the Laconian V style, and belongs therefore to the fifth century. The design is shewn in Fig. 1 as if rolled out flat. The only other find of importance was a bronze sphinx, hollow at the back and with a hook in front of the figure, which suggests that it formed one half of a clasp.

A water-channel and a finely made basin, both of terracotta, and a well in this house, point to some domestic or industrial purpose, probably connected with the service of the Sanctuary. The upper part of the well was lined with stones; below this there were three cylindrical sections of terracotta, each with a square hole to serve as a foothold.

R. M. DAWKINS.

## LACONIA.

### I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1910.

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#### § 5.—ARTEMIS ORTHIA; THE HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARY.

(PLATES IV AND V)

THE small piece of work reported above concluded the excavation of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and although the majority of objects found remain for future publication, a full account of the excavation and of the successive buildings in the Sanctuary has now been given in the series of reports, which began in Vol. XII and ends in this present *Annual*. The few points in which earlier views required reconsideration in the light of more complete knowledge, have been for the most part already corrected and in this way, although fuller study of the finds and records has thrown a good deal of fresh light upon some points, it would be possible for a reader to construct from these reports a consecutive history of the site. This history is however, from the necessities of the case, imbedded in the reports in the order of discovery, and further, as digging proceeds from the surface downwards and has to pass through what is late to reach what is early, this order is in general precisely opposite to the chronological. In order to save readers of the *Annual* the necessity of thus picking out for themselves this history, perhaps even a more difficult task than it seems to the writer of the reports, it has seemed best, now that the end of the excavation has been reached, to summarise results by writing this consecutive account of the Sanctuary from the earliest times. Its object is to bring together the material of previous reports, rather than to

incorporate it completely, and for detailed descriptions of the different buildings references are therefore given to the already published accounts. The General Plan of the site, which accompanies this report (Pl. IV), is the same as that published a year ago with some necessary additions. It is based upon the previously published plans of Messrs. George and Sejk, but is, as it stands, the work of the present writer, who is also responsible for the other plans and sections which have been reproduced with the necessary additions, from previous reports. The most elaborate of the sectional drawings, that on the line *E-F* (Pl. V), owes a great deal to Mr. M. S. Thompson's assistance in the surveying. Besides the general acknowledgements which are due to the members of the school who have taken part in the work, this account is especially indebted to Mr. Droop's study of pottery; to Mr. Wace's still unpublished work on the lead figurines and to Mr. Woodward's epigraphical papers. All these contributions have been freely used to supplement the day-books and records, which are the result of the writer's almost continuous presence at the excavation from its beginning in 1906, under the direction of Professor Bosanquet, to its conclusion in 1910. Any necessary corrections to previous reports, which have not already appeared, have been made explicitly with references, rather than tacitly.

In an account of this kind chronology is of the first importance and the various kinds of small objects, in which the Sanctuary was so rich, will be treated almost exclusively from this point of view. The pottery as usual takes the first place, but it is not the only class of object to shew a continuous development, and consequently to afford evidence for dating. In particular the modifications in type and style of the lead figurines were sufficiently marked to be a great guide, and a constant confirmation of the ceramic evidence. All the stages of the pottery are in fact accompanied by corresponding varieties of figurines, and it often happened that, where a deposit had too little pottery to date it clearly, the deficiency was supplied by the lead. This was particularly the case with the later deposits of the fifth and fourth centuries. A regular development of type was also observed in the ivory carvings and objects in bone, and the same in the bronzes. All these sequences support one another, and, with the assistance of external evidence for the dating of inscriptions and Proto-Corinthian and 'Cyrenaic' pottery, provide a chronological scheme of some certainty.

The position of the Sanctuary is shewn in the General Plan of Sparta already published (Square **O 15**), and has already been fully described by Professor Bosanquet, who has collected earlier descriptions of the ruins.<sup>1</sup> The excavation, by revealing the original level of the soil, has brought out very clearly the fact that the cult was established in a little hollow from which the ground rose on the west towards the acropolis, whilst to the south a high tongue of rock bordered by low cliffs, runs out to the river. On the eastern side at a very much later date, the city wall, the course of which is traced on the General Plan of Sparta, occupied the narrow space



FIG. 1.—THE BANK OF THE EUROTAS SHEWING THE BROKEN EDGE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE THEATRE BEFORE EXCAVATION. (Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xii, p. 304, Fig. 1.)

towards the river, making an outward bend in order to include the Sanctuary before climbing up the raised rock to the south. On the north was the further stretch of flat land by the bank of the river, which is now water meadows and gardens, and was in ancient times the region called Limnai. The main stream of the Eurotas is at present nearly a hundred metres from the Sanctuary, which is only reached when a sudden flood fills the whole bed of the river with a rush of waters. The actual course of a

<sup>1</sup> The General Plan appeared in *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. VII, and *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. I. For the description of the site see Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 303 *sqq.*

river flowing in this way in a wide torrent bed varies very rapidly, often in a single night ; the bed now extends to the Sanctuary, and at some time the water has actually carried away a considerable part of the Orthia buildings, and the eroded face of the foundation of the theatre was almost the only visible indication of the site when the excavation began. Its appearance may be seen from the photograph, here reproduced from the first annual report <sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1).

The earliest traces of human activity which have been found on the site, consist of a layer of blackened earth mixed with sherds of Geometric pottery and small, much corroded pieces of bronze, immediately above the virgin soil on the western side of the great archaic altar. This deposit, which was at the centre as much as half a metre thick and covered about thirty square metres, is shewn in its relation to the altar in Fig. 2. Nowhere else do the deposits reach so great an absolute depth, and it thus appears that at this point was the centre and lowest part of the natural hollow, in which the worship of Orthia was established. That these remains are to be connected with the cult, and are thus its earliest trace, is indicated by the small fragments of charred bone which appeared when the earth was washed, and shew that it is the debris from burned animal sacrifices. Except for the small piece of wall found at the same level, and shewn in the bottom left-hand corner of the drawing, no structural remains of this period have been found.

The smallness of the area over which these earliest remains extend, suggests that the hieron was at this time, if enclosed, of no great extent. After this earliest period we can however distinguish a stage during which it was apparently much larger. Walls now appear, and the enclosed area was paved. The pavement consisted of irregularly laid cobble stones

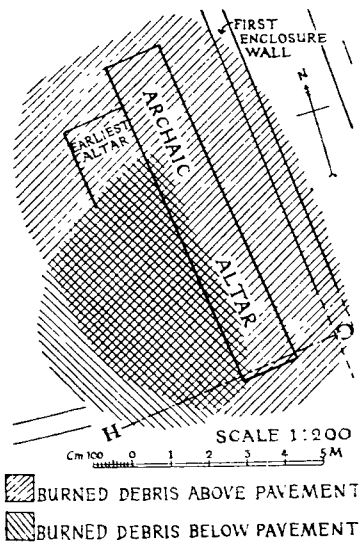


FIG. 2—PLAN SHEWING THE POSITION OF BURNED DEBRIS ABOVE AND BELOW THE COBBLE PAVEMENT.  
(Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xv, p. 11, Fig. 2.)

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xii, p. 304, Fig. 1.



brought from the bed of the river, and rested immediately upon the earliest stratum just described. Its preservation is extremely uneven. In some places the rough stones were found set quite close together, in others only a stone here and there was in place. The whole was, however, at approximately the same level, and it is plain that there was at all events the intention to cover the whole area of the hieron. This irregular distribution is marked on the plan, which also distinguishes, towards the



FIG. 3.—THE WEST WALL OF THE LATER TEMPLE, WITH PARTS OF THE "FIRST ENCLOSURE WALL" AND "RETAINING WALL;" LOOKING SOUTH.

(Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xv, p. 8, Fig. 1.)

centre of what was later the arena of the theatre, a patch made of much finer pebbles, at a slightly higher level and probably rather later than the rest.

Of this paved hieron we also found parts of the walls, marked on the plan as 'First Enclosure Wall.' One piece, running almost due north and south, lies to the east of the altar, and the other forms the western limit of the hieron. This latter passes beneath the south-west corner of the later temple and then, after making a curve towards the north, shewn in Fig. 3, disappears, whilst in the other

direction it was traced for some distance under the foundation of the Roman theatre to the south of the temple, until it gradually disappears. The last part of its course is so much ruined that it could only be marked in the plan by a dotted line. An attempt to find its further course, by sinking a pit near Pier IV outside the curve of the foundation of the theatre, led to no result. Both these pieces of wall are built in the same way of small undressed stones, which, like the cobble-stones of the pavement, were clearly brought from the adjacent bed of the Eurotas. Almost everywhere both these walls had been destroyed down to the level of the pavement, to make way for subsequent extensions of the hieron, and thus, excepting for a small piece of the west wall, no more than the foundations have been preserved. The hieron thus revealed was some thirty metres across and in length, measured, that is, from north to south, considerably more, although its limits in this direction have not been preserved. The configuration of the ground makes it almost certain that the gateway, of which, however, no trace has been found, was towards the south, and therefore approximately below the point where the builders of the Roman theatre made their principal entrance. It is indeed likely that the main approach to the hieron always led down from the higher ground to this point.

The Sanctuary thus paved and enclosed, certainly did not lack an altar, and its foundation course is probably to be recognised in a layer of undressed stones, which was found on the western side of the archaic altar. The layer of stones in question, marked on the plan 'Earliest Altar,' passes underneath the foundation of the archaic altar, forms a corner at a distance from it of 1.70 m., and then runs for a little over two metres parallel to its face. It is clearly distinguished from the stones of the pavement by its definite outer edge, and its position and exact parallelism further connect it with the series of altars.

Of a temple contemporary with this earliest altar no trace was found. The extent, however, of the hieron, the position of the altar so near its edge rather than at the centre, the existence of the later temples presently to be described, and the general circumstances of the case, are all arguments which make it more than likely that, even at this early date, some kind of primitive temple stood in the western part of the hieron, and that temple and altar already stood facing one another, as their successors did for so many centuries, one on either side of the central area.

The votive offerings which were found immediately above the cobble pavement are to be assigned to this time, but there is generally no means of knowing where the dividing line is to be drawn between them and those of the succeeding period. What, however, certainly belong here are the few objects, mostly sherds of Geometric pottery and broken fragments of bronze, which were found in the ten centimetres of blackened earth which intervened between the surface of this pavement and the lowest stones of the core of the archaic altar.<sup>1</sup> The existence of this layer, which is part of the evidence for the archaic altar being later than the pavement, was



FIG. 4.—THE ARCHAIC ALTAR FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.  
(Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 67, Fig. 13.)

ascertained by cutting a trench along the central line of the altar down to the virgin soil. Below the stones of the altar, first the layer in question was found, and then the pavement. The earth, like that below the pavement, proved on being washed to be full of small fragments of burned bone, in which we must recognise the remains of the sacrifices offered on the earliest altar; of this no trace was found in the trench cut through the archaic altar, and it is in fact not likely to have extended so far in this direction.

<sup>1</sup> This layer appears in the section on line *G-H* in Pl. V.

The next stage which can be detected in the history of the Sanctuary, shews the hieron provided with a large altar, which is still well preserved, and a small temple, marked on the plan as the 'Archaic Altar' and the 'Early Temple.' No remains of any corresponding enclosure walls have been found. The altar is 9.00 m. long by 1.50 m. wide, resembling in its long narrow proportions some other early Greek altars. Its height is 1.00 m., or, with the projecting coping which is preserved only at the north end, 1.20 m. The facing is of rudely dressed stones laid in irregular courses; inside, the stones were simply thrown in to form a filling. Its appearance from the south-west is given in Fig. 4. The extent of the accumulation of sacrificial debris round it is shewn in plan in Fig. 2 and its depth in the sections on lines *C-D* and *G-H*<sup>1</sup> (Plate V).

The temple faces almost due east, and roughly in the direction of the altar. It had the characteristically archaic, long narrow plan with a width estimated at 4.50 m. and a length of at least twice as much. Like several other very early temples, it was divided longitudinally by a row of pillars, and at the inner end there seems to have been a small raised cella or niche for the image. The only part preserved *in situ* is a portion of the foundation course of small roughly dressed stones and slabs (Fig. 5), which were covered by a mass of red earth, the result of the disintegration of brickwork. A study of these remains led to the conclusion that the building was of brick set in a wooden frame-work, with a low gable roof. A fragment of a painted tile was found amongst the remains, but from its resemblance to Laconian I or II pottery of the seventh century, cannot be as old as the building itself.<sup>2</sup>

To the period during which this altar and temple were in use, belong the most important results of the excavation, because it is in association with them that the greater number of the rich series of votive offerings were found. The only classes of these which have been published fully are the terracotta figurines, the bronzes, and the pottery (Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I and II). A number of ivory carvings, though only a small proportion of the whole, have also appeared, but of the lead

<sup>1</sup> The section on the line *C-D* was published in *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. III, and that on line *G-H*, first in *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. II, and in a corrected form in *B.S.A.* xv, Pl. II, from which it is now republished in Pl. V, B, at the end of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> The remains of this temple were fully described and figured in *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 17 *sqq.*, with Figs. 5, 6 and 7. Fig. 5 in the text is from one of these photographs.

figurines and miscellaneous objects only very few.<sup>1</sup> The curious painted terracotta masks, together with the great mass of lead figurines, nearly all belong to the succeeding period. With the exception of a number found inside the temple, none of these votive offerings were found *in situ*: they were evidently thrown away from time to time and so formed, as has been already reported, a confused mass all over the area of the cobble pavement and slightly beyond it, the walls which had previously bounded the pave-

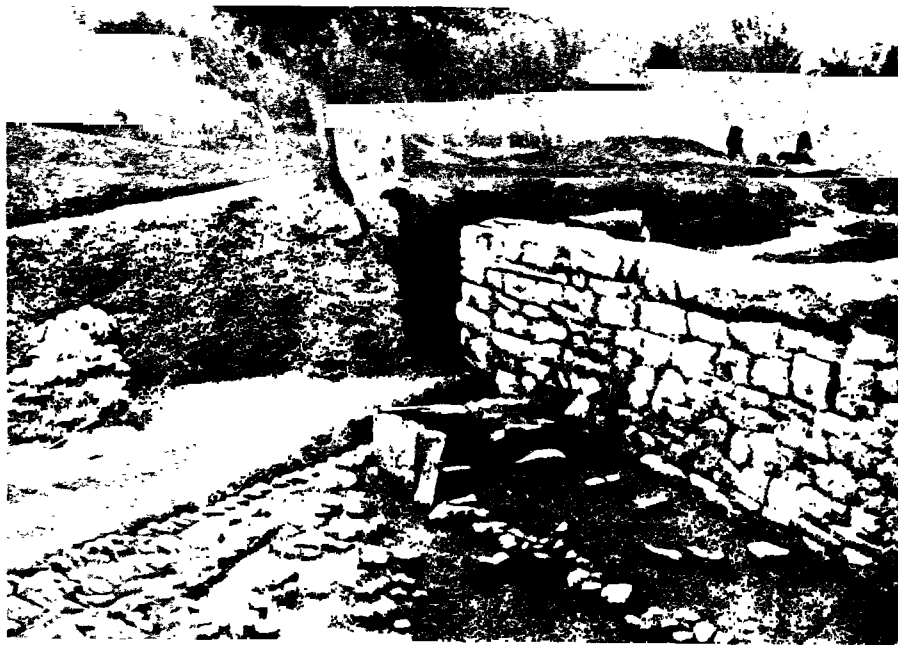


FIG. 5.—REMAINS OF THE ARCHAIC TEMPLE BY THE SIDE OF THE SOUTH WALL OF THE LATER TEMPLE.

ment having been by this time destroyed. That this boundary should then have existed is inconsistent also with the position of the temple, the corner of which barely clears the line of the wall, and practically with that of the altar also, as the space between it and the wall would be very inconveniently narrow, and this disregard is a further proof that these walls belong to an earlier period.

A part of the limit of the hieron at this period seems to be preserved

<sup>1</sup> For the terracotta figurines *v.* Farrell, *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 48-73; for the bronzes, Droop, *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 107-117; for the pottery, Droop, *B.S.A.* viii, pp. 118-136; xiv, pp. 30-47; xv, pp. 23-39; for the ivories, Dawkins, *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 77-108.

by the line of a wall, marked on the plan 'Later Enclosure Wall,' which runs nearly due north and south about four metres to the east of the altar. The wall itself is of a later date, but the line in which it lies, and its extension to the north marked the extreme limit in this direction of the objects belonging to this period, and we may therefore consider that this was the limit of the hieron, and that some earlier wall existed here, no trace of which has survived. The southern part of the wall in question appears in Fig. 8 between the houses and the archaic altar.

The richness of the deposit of votive offerings was by no means uniform over this area. The most fruitful region was that surrounding the remains of the early temple, and many of the objects found here probably formed a part of its contents. The accumulation was also especially deep on the east side of the altar, rising indeed from its usual average thickness of '30 m. to as much as '60 m. It reached probably to within half a metre of the top of the altar. On the western side, on the other hand, the deposit was thin. This implies that the altar was used, as would naturally be expected, from the side towards the temple, and that on the other unused side, which was moreover very close to the wall of the hieron, debris was allowed to accumulate. All the deposit near the altar was black and, like that below the pavement, mixed with small fragments of burned bones. The mass at the back of the altar shews that, in clearing the surface from time to time, the ministers swept the debris off on the side where it did not interfere with the practice of the cult.<sup>1</sup>

The region to the north of the temple, immediately underneath and to the north of the row of bases marked on the plan, was also very rich, and it was here that the latest objects associated with this period were found; in particular Laconian II pottery and carvings in soft stone.

It was recognised already at the beginning of the excavation that at the end of this period the whole hieron was covered with a layer of sand and gravel. Underneath this the archaic altar and the remains of the early temple were completely buried, and on its surface a new altar and the later temple were erected. It seems most probable that the early temple

<sup>1</sup> This difference in the thickness of the deposit on the two sides of the altar is shewn in the section on the line *G-H* (Pl. V, B). It is interesting to contrast the altar, whose priority to the deposits round it is proved by its affecting their level in this way, with the walls of the temple, on both sides of which the deposits, being earlier, continue at the same level. See section on line *E-F* (Pl. V, A).

was destroyed by a flood, and that this general raising of the level was to guard against the recurrence of such a disaster.<sup>1</sup>

This reorganising of the Sanctuary did not stop, and hardly interrupted, the practice of making votive offerings, the series of which continues with undiminished richness for at least another century, but the presence of the sand made it possible to distinguish clearly those that belong to the earlier period from those that follow it. The date therefore of this destruction and reconstitution of the Sanctuary is of the greatest importance, and it can fortunately be fixed with some degree of certainty.

The two blocks of dressed stone marked in the plan almost directly underneath the row of bases at the edge of the Roman arena are of importance in this connexion. They were carefully bedded and laid like a pair of steps, and evidently formed part of a building, of which, however, nothing more can be said than that it belongs to the latter part of the period in question, as is proved by the considerable depth of deposit below the stones, and the presence in it of lead figurines of a kind hardly earlier than B.C. 700, and of a few sherds of Laconian I pottery. Near these blocks a rich mass of objects were found which probably formed part of the contents of the building. Their relative lateness is indicated by the more developed style of the pottery, which is what Mr. Droop has classed as Laconian II. With this were the objects which help us to a date *post quem* for the rearrangement of the Sanctuary. These are a number of carvings in soft white stone, some of which bear archaic inscriptions, and two Laconian II plates, one inscribed  $\Phi\text{ΠΙΘΙΣΑ } \text{Α}[\text{NE}]\Theta\text{ΙΚΕ } \text{ΗΠΟΝ}$ , and the other,  $[\text{ANEΘΕ}]\text{ΚΕ } \text{ΤΑΙ } \text{ΦΟΡΘΑΣΙΑΙ}$  were found not far off.<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions, although very archaic in character, can hardly go back earlier than the end of the seventh century, and we thus arrive at a *terminus post quem* for the laying down of the sand. Further, the close connexion between the pottery found in this region with the earliest pieces found above the layer of sand prove that this deposit belongs to the very latest years of the early period.

<sup>1</sup> The redness of the remains of the brick-work might suggest that it was destroyed by fire, but there are no signs of charring on the objects, and the ivories especially would not have survived a fire. Nor would this supply any motive for raising the level of the sanctuary.

<sup>2</sup> This transcription does not of course represent the actual lettering of the inscriptions, which have not yet been published. Specimens of these carvings have appeared in *B.S.A.* xii, p. 334, Fig. 1; p. 335, Figs. 2 and 3; p. 337, Fig. 4; *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 60, Fig. 8; *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 25, Fig. 10.

The votive offerings of the next period, of which more must be said below, include a mass of that pottery hitherto known as Cyrenaic, which Mr. Droop has now classed as Laconian III and IV. In date it ranges over the sixth century, and, more precisely, must have begun not far from 600 B.C. The evidence for this is the well known Arkesilas cup in the Louvre, with a picture of the king superintending the weighing and packing of the silphion. There is little doubt that this is Arkesilas II, whose dates are 580-550 B.C., and, as the cup is a late example of Laconian III, it demands some date previous to this for the beginning of the style, possibly 600 B.C. A sherd found by Professor Petrie at Daphnai, which must have been imported thither before 565 B.C., corroborates this.<sup>1</sup> If then, the inscriptions point to a date certainly not earlier than the end of the seventh century (and on epigraphical grounds they might well be later), and are found immediately before the sand, whilst the pottery found directly above it begins certainly very early in the sixth century, there is strong evidence that the sand was laid down at a date very close to 600 B.C.

Before going on to describe the next period of the history of the Sanctuary, it will be convenient to look back and try to establish some date for the beginnings of the cult and the earlier structures which have been noticed above.

Over how many centuries before 600 B.C. these early deposits at the Orthia Sanctuary range, it is not easy to say, and indeed any conclusion must have much that is arbitrary and to some extent personal. The pottery is our safest guide: the first ware found is Geometric. Before the end of this, Laconian I begins, and this is followed at the end of the period by Laconian II. There was also a style developed from the Geometric, which Mr. Droop has classed as Sub-Geometric. Besides these, the period in which Laconian I and Geometric overlap was marked by the presence of Proto-Corinthian pottery, and from this the best external evidence for dating is derived. No very large quantity of it was found, but it was widely scattered and always carefully preserved. After the second year's campaign, when the area occupied by the later temple and the arena of the theatre had been excavated, Mr. Droop noted that 51 *per cent.* of its occurrences were with only Geometric pottery, 38 *per cent.* with Geometric and Laconian I

<sup>1</sup> For Mr. Droop's arguments *z.* *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 46. For the Daphnai sherd *z.* Petrie, *Tanis*, ii, Pl. XXXII, 3, and pp. 52 and 59.



together, and 11 *per cent.* with only Laconian I.<sup>1</sup> It therefore appears that the greater part of the period over which it ranges falls before the introduction of Laconian I, and runs down to shortly after the end of Geometric. The probable date of the earliest pieces from the Orthia Sanctuary according to the evidence of Italian finds, is about 740 B.C., apart from several fragments of the earlier ventriconical vases, one of which was found as low as the level of the upper surface of the cobble pavement. The date at which Proto-Corinthian gives way to Corinthian is not very clear, and questions of terminology add further difficulties, but 660 B.C. is a reasonable date for the latest vases definitely to be called Proto-Corinthian.<sup>2</sup>

If these dates be applied to the series from the Orthia Sanctuary, it will appear that, as almost exactly as much Proto-Corinthian pottery was found before as after the beginning of Laconian I, a middle halfway date between 740 and 660 B.C. is indicated for its first appearance, and on these grounds Mr. Droop suggested as an approximate date 700 B.C., with Laconian II, of which there is much less, following on in 625, and lasting until the end of the century. As this allows a century for the development from Laconian I to Laconian III, the length of time is adequate, but certainly not too long. Geometric dies out shortly before the end of Proto-Corinthian, and it may be considered that it was practically at an end after 675 B.C.

Before the appearance of Proto-Corinthian there is a long period represented only by Geometric pottery. If we divide this deposit from that containing Laconian pottery, at the point where the latter begins to preponderate, we shall find that the Geometric layer, with an average of at least half a metre, is double the thickness of the later stratum. This is only not true in the region of the early temple, where the Laconian layer is the thicker of the two; but here this latter is due not to gradual accumulation, but to the collapse of the early temple and its contents, and

<sup>1</sup> Each section of the deposit was dug separately and divided into several layers. The finds from each layer were put into separate trays. Of the sixty-three trays which contained Proto-Corinthian sherds, in thirty-two it was accompanied by only Geometric, in twenty-four by Geometric and Laconian I, and in seven by Laconian I pottery only. From these figures the percentages in the text are calculated. Cf. Mr. Droop's report in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> The initial date for Proto-Corinthian pottery used in this argument rests upon the testimony of the vases found at Syracuse, and its foundation date of 745 B.C., and in this way a good piece of external evidence is obtained for the general correctness of our chronology. A few more pieces of Corinthian ware have been found since Mr. Droop wrote his paper in *B.S.A.* xiii.

cannot therefore be used in any way as a measure of time. As therefore in the other parts of the area, where the deposits were to all appearances the result of a gradual accumulation, the Geometric stratum is twice as thick as that above it, which latter is reckoned to extend over nearly one hundred years, it would seem that the earlier must occupy at least twice that period, and we thus reach 900 B.C. as an initial date. In the centre of the arena, where the altar deposit below the pavement was found, the Geometric deposit was even thicker, and it appears that these earliest traces of the cult must go back well into the tenth century. Nothing Mycenaean, with the exception of one gem, has been found at the site, which therefore belongs entirely to the age of iron, and as the archaeological evidence carries it back to the tenth century, the traditional date for the Dorian settlement in Laonia, it would appear that the cult dates from the foundation of Dorian Sparta.<sup>1</sup> This is all the more likely, as some important historical cause must be sought for the institution of so important a cult.

There is, however, a possibility that the foundation of the Chalkioikos and of the Amyklaion as a Dorian site is somewhat earlier, because the variety of Geometric pottery with no slip and glistening paint, which at the Orthia Sanctuary is confined to the lower levels, and so appears to be older than the usual Geometric with a slip and dull paint, is at these sanctuaries much the commoner of the two, whilst at the Orthia it is distinctly less frequent.<sup>2</sup>

As the structural remains below the sand, early temple, altars, pavement and enclosure walls, all fall earlier than the beginning of Proto-Corinthian pottery, their dates must be sought inside the long period from the tenth century to 740 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The archaic altar was built some time before this date, as a great deal of the deposit round it contained nothing later than Geometric sherds, and it is not likely that any great error will be made if it, and the early temple with it, are assigned to a date earlier than 800 B.C. The cobble pavement will then date from some time earlier in

<sup>1</sup> This gem was published in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 76, Fig. 16, f.

<sup>2</sup> For these varieties of Geometric *v.* *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 119 *sqq.* At the Orthia only 7 per cent. of the Geometric pottery was of the older slipless variety, and at the Chalkioikos more than 80 per cent.

<sup>3</sup> Four Proto-Corinthian sherds found with the Geometric pottery below the cobble pavement are too isolated to upset the general result. They are clearly out of place, possibly owing to some mistake in the processes of cleaning and sorting.

the ninth, and the burned deposit below it will go back to the beginnings of the cult in the tenth century.

To the year 600 B.C. or near it, we have assigned the reorganisation of the hieron, and we must now look at this a little more closely. The remains of the early temple, as they were discovered, consisted of a mound of reddish brick-earth, beneath which were the stones of the foundation, and it was the observation of this low mound formed here by the upper surface of the archaic deposit, that first led us to suspect the presence of a building. Over this mound, and indeed all round and inside the later temple, the archaic deposit was covered with a layer of such small chips of stone as are made in the final dressing of blocks for building. The position of this layer, which is marked in the section on the line *E-F* (Pl. V, A), shews that the level of the ground at the time of the erection of the later temple was that of the top of the archaic deposit. A further indication of this was afforded by the discovery, when the temple was cleared, of a few Geometric sherds near the walls, resting on the stratum of Laconian I pottery of which the uppermost part of the archaic deposit normally consists. This obvious disturbance of the series only occurred at this point, and was clearly due to the digging of the trenches for the foundations of the temple, by which some of the lowest deposit was thrown up and laid on the surface.

After the cutting of these foundation trenches, the whole area was covered with a deep layer of sand. This seems to have been laid down gradually as the walls of the temple rose, because chips of stone made by the masons were found in it at all depths. The object of this sand was no doubt to raise the level of the hieron, and so prevent danger from the floods to which the Eurotas is still subject. Its limits, as marked on the plan, shew that it formed a roughly T-shaped platform, with the later temple on the leg of the T, and the altar on its cross-bar. The slope of the edges of the mound appear in the sectional drawings on the lines *E-F* and *G-H* (Pl. V). At the back of the temple this slope is steeper than elsewhere, probably owing to the nearness of the building to the edge of the hieron, and a retaining wall was therefore necessary. Such remains of this as were discovered are seen on the plan, curving round behind the temple at the edge of the sand. A piece of it appears also in Fig. 3. The wall was carefully made on the outer side only; the side against which the sand rested, not being intended

to be seen, had no regular facing. The construction was of small undressed stones.

Of the temple thus built at the beginning of the sixth century, very little except the high foundation, shewn in Fig. 6, remains *in situ*. This still served for the temple which was standing in the Roman period, and has in consequence suffered a good deal of rebuilding. As the surface of the ground was then nearly half a metre higher, the level of the stylobate was probably raised, but no trace of it at any period has been preserved.



FIG. 6.—THE FRONT WALL OF THE LARIK TEMPLE UNCOVERED TO ITS FOUNDATIONS.  
(Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 57, Fig. 6.)

Like the temple of Roman times it was probably prostyle *in antis*. Two fragments which may be assigned to it were found built into the foundation of the theatre. One was a piece of a Doric capital of the characteristic sixth-century profile, and the other was a fragment of a Doric column with sixteen instead of twenty flutes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The profile of this capital is given in *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 7, Fig. 1. The fragment is a quarter of the capital carefully cut down for some other purpose. It had therefore ceased to be in use as a capital some time before the builders of the theatre used it as rubble. If we could be quite positive that it belonged to the sixth-century temple, this would be a further argument for its having been completely rebuilt before the Roman period. The fragment of column is 1.60 m. long and preserves parts of three flutes. The original number can be computed by measuring the angle formed by three successive ridges. The work is, however, poor, and the number of flutes is no proof of early date.

The pediment seems to have been adorned with a group containing a figure of a lion in poros stone, gaily coloured. The evidence for this is the discovery of a fragment of a lion's mane which might have come from such a group in the earth which accumulated in front of the temple between the time when it was built and the Roman level, the lower level being determined by the top of the sand and the presence of objects immediately subsequent to those below it, or more precisely, by the discovery of Laconian III pottery and such objects in lead and bone as are contemporary with it. It is plain that, as far as they are fragments of the temple, the objects found in this earth may either date from its first construction, or be the refuse from any rebuilding which it may have undergone. The lion's mane clearly comes from its earliest stage, and shews that the temple was rebuilt before Roman times at least to the extent of having its original pediment thrown down. The stamped tiles found in the same earth, which will be mentioned below, belong to the latter class, and point to a reconstruction of the roof. That the lion's mane comes from a pedimental group is made the more likely by the discovery of two small reliefs in soft stone, representing two couchant lions facing each other heraldically.<sup>1</sup> One of these was found in the layer of sand itself, and the other in a deposit to the north of the temple dating from shortly after its construction (Fig. 7). Both are therefore closely contemporary with the building of the temple, and that two of them should be found makes it likely that the design had some significance. With no more than a fragment of the neck and mane as a guide, it is difficult to form an opinion of the space that would be occupied by a group of two lions in this position, but the scale of the fragment in no way prevents us from supposing that it comes from such a group of a size to fill the required space satisfactorily. It would seem likely therefore that in these two small triangular reliefs we should recognise copies of the group which adorned the front pediment of the temple. Some pieces of painted terracotta architectural ornament have been found, which may also be associated with this building.<sup>2</sup>

Outside the southern and eastern walls of the temple the plan shews

<sup>1</sup> The one found in the sand, the uppermost in Fig. 7, was published in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 60, Fig. 8. Its length is 7.5 m.

<sup>2</sup> That these two groups have some architectural significance is rendered the more probable by the fact that several of these reliefs, all dating from the same period, represent parts of buildings. Thus two give a Doric architrave and metopes, another a Doric capital, and two more what seems to be a piece of architectural ornament.

nine circular patches of dots each about 70 m. in diameter. These mark the position of circular holes cut down through the archaic deposit at these points and filled with the same sand that formed the layer above. Similar holes were observed also on the north side of the temple, but their position

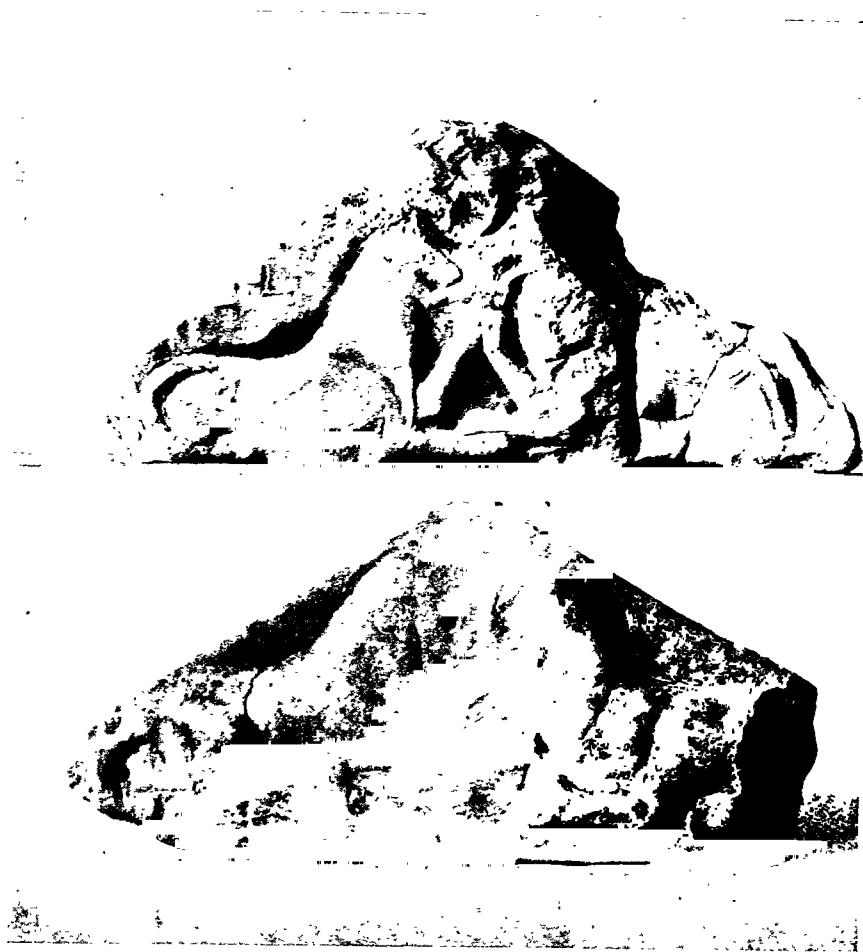


FIG. 7.—RELIEFS OF LIONS IN LIMESTONE. (SCALE 2 : 5.)

was not noted with sufficient accuracy for them to be put upon the plan. Holes cut in this way through the archaic deposit can only have been made at the building of the later temple, and their being filled with the sand which was then laid down shews that the purpose which they served was

only temporary, whilst their symmetrical arrangement round the temple proves their connexion with it. The conclusion is that they are the holes which were sunk for scaffolding-poles.

This raising of the whole level of the hieron covered not only the remains of the early temple but also the archaic altar, the top of which was now buried by more than half a metre of sand, and no doubt a new altar was built at the same time. The remains of altars actually found above the sand have already been described.<sup>1</sup> They consisted of part of an altar of the Roman period, resting upon some squared stones, which belonged to an earlier structure. These squared stones, which are shewn in the section on the line *G-H* (Pl. V), belong to an altar earlier than the Roman. To the east of them was a mass of burned debris, the remains of sacrifices pushed off the top of the altar to its unused side, as was noted in the case of the archaic altar. This deposit contained sherds of Laconian V and VI pottery, dating therefore from the fifth and first half of the fourth century, and a great number of lead figurines of the corresponding style. There is therefore no clear evidence that the altar, to which these blocks belonged, goes back earlier than the year 500 B.C., although the certainty that an altar must have been constructed for the necessities of the cult at the same time as the temple makes it probable that it is in fact to be dated a hundred years earlier.

The hieron, when this later temple was built, was enclosed by a wall, which there is no reason to date later than the temple itself. The longest piece preserved is that which bounds the hieron to the west. Another piece to the south runs along the side of the present channel of the mill-stream, and a third is to be seen to the east of the altar. It is marked on the plan 'Later Enclosure Wall.' The area thus contained appears to have been roughly oblong, and may be taken as sixty by forty-five metres. Again no trace of the entrance has been preserved.

The most important small finds of this period were found to the north and south of the temple. On each side of the building there was a slope formed by the edge of the layer of sand, and over this the broken or no longer used votive offerings were from time to time thrown out from the temple. On the southern side this slope was faced by a rise of the natural soil away from the river, and thus a small valley was formed, on both sides

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii. pp. 62, *seqq.* A photograph, reproduced here in Fig 13, and full drawings are given *ibid.* Figs. 10, 11.

of which objects were allowed to accumulate, whilst on the north side the slope of the sand ran down towards the lower ground on the bank of the river. The position of these objects is shewn in the section on the line *E-F*, where the space they occupy is marked as 'Deposit immediately succeeding the building of the Later Temple.' In plan they occupied the greater part of the space to the north, south and behind the temple, outside the limits of the foundation of the Roman theatre. Behind the temple the deposit was naturally much less rich, and there was also a local disturbance of much later date, to be mentioned below, whilst further to the east any deposit there may have been was removed by the foundations of the Roman theatre. It seems indeed that at this time debris was not allowed to gather between the temple and the altar, and it thus was all swept over the edges of the platform of sand, and lodged on its slopes.

The deposits in question are marked by pottery of the Laconian III and IV styles, which include nearly all the vases generally called Cyrenaic. It was here also that the great mass of terracotta masks were found, hardly any of them belonging to the earlier period, and that the yield of the little lead figurines reached its maximum. Of the total number of 100,000 odd, these deposits yielded more than 58,000, to which by far the greater part of the 10,000 found by the bank of the river at the beginning of the excavation must no doubt be added. Against this the Laconian I deposits yielded in round numbers only 5700 and the Laconian II, 9500. Laconian V and VI shew the decrease with 10,600 and 4700 respectively, but here allowance must be made for the scantiness of the deposits preserved.<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that the pottery, the carvings in bone, and the lead figurines all shewed clearly by their unbroken development that the earliest objects found here follow immediately after the latest found below the sand, from the period of the early temple. A further link between the two deposits is the series of carvings in soft stone, some of which were found just below, some in, and a few above the sand. The deposits of Laconian III and IV occupy the whole of the sixth century, and their importance for the date of the later temple has already been noticed.

After this the number of small objects found becomes very much less. The later developments of Laconian pottery, styles V and VI, dated by Mr. Droop to the fifth and the first half of the fourth century, were found

<sup>1</sup> These figures are due to Mr. Wace.



in several patches of deposit to the south of the temple near the great drain, and also near its S.E. corner, all at levels below that of the pavement of the arena of the theatre in the Roman period, and comparable to that at which the fragment of lion's mane from the pediment was found. The uniformity of level of these deposits indicates that some levelling took place in this region about the year 500 B.C., and the mass of earth and shingle which appears in the section on the line *E-F* above the deposit



FIG. 8—HOUSES EAST OF THE ALTAR. PART OF THE THEATRE APPEARS IN THE BACKGROUND, AND TO THE RIGHT A CORNER OF THE ARCHAIC ALTAR.  
(Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 8, Fig. 2.)

of masks should be put down to this. At the same level and of the same date, is the deposit mixed with burned matter beside the blocks described above as belonging to the first altar of the later period. The richest finds, however, of this kind came from the houses to the east of the altar outside the wall of the hieron, which have for this reason been tentatively assigned to the fifth century, in the same way as the house inside the wall to the south of the theatre. It was in these houses, which are shewn in Fig. 8, that the Laconian VI pottery was observed to give place to black-glazed

Hellenistic ware and fragments of Megarian bowls, and thus a terminal date for the Laconian series was reached. These houses probably extend beyond the limits of the excavation to the east and south, but, except those nearest to the altar, they yielded so little that their complete excavation seemed unlikely to repay the removal of the great mass of earth beneath which they were buried. The water-channels, large basin and well, which one of them contains, point to some industrial or domestic purpose, but that they had some connexion with the hieron is shewn by the numerous fragments of vases inscribed with the name of the goddess.<sup>1</sup> The painted fragment of a figure of Orthia holding snakes which was found here is reproduced above in the report of the 1910 excavation.<sup>2</sup> Near so important a shrine priests, servants, and artificers of various kinds must have lived, and it is possible that these are their houses.

The great built drain which runs across the southern part of the site from west to east and debouches on the bank of the river, is the next construction to be noticed. When it was described last year, reasons were given to shew that it was constructed early in the third century B.C. for the more effectual draining of the Sanctuary and to carry off any water that might flow down from the high ground to the east.<sup>3</sup> The western part of this drain is shewn in Fig. 9. The building of the city wall late in the same century must have further altered the appearance of the hieron and formed a strong barrier between it and the river. In order to enclose it within the enceinte, it was necessary for the wall to make a detour towards the river. The piece of the wall built over the mouth of the drain is particularly well preserved.<sup>4</sup>

For the partial destruction of the sixth-century temple we have mentioned the evidence of the broken pediment group and of the archaic Doric fragments, the broken column and the piece of capital, found in the foundation of the theatre, and several pieces of painted tiles and antefixes found on the site, point to the same conclusion. Besides these signs of destruction,

<sup>1</sup> For these inscriptions *v. B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 10 *seq.* On Laconian VI sherds the name of the goddess (**ΦΟΡΘΕΙΑΙ**) occurred in painted letters, and several black-glazed Hellenistic vessels bore, complete or in part, the incised inscription, **ΧΙΛΩΝΙΣ ΤΑΙ ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΙ**. Mr. Wace suggests that this Chilonis may be either the daughter of Leotychides or of Leonidas II, both of whom belong to the third century.

<sup>2</sup> In Fig. 1, p. 16 above.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xv, pp. 15-19.

<sup>4</sup> For the evidence of the French plan as to the possibility of the actual contact of the city wall with the theatre, see below, p. 47, note.

there is also some positive evidence. The foundation itself shews clear signs of having been largely rebuilt; in especial a drafted block in the north wall was clearly brought from some other building.<sup>1</sup> The most important evidence, however, are the fragments of stamped tiles from the later roof. These were found all over the site above the level of the Roman period, and some occurred between it and the level when the temple was first built, but none lower. Those found scattered about the



FIG. 9.—THE WESTERN PART OF THE DRAIN TO THE SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE, LOOKING EAST. BEYOND THE DRAIN IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN THEATRE.

(Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xv, p. 16, Fig. 3.)

site at the higher level are the result of the final destruction of the temple; those below this level, which were especially frequent near the temple itself in the same earth as the lion-fragment from the early pediment, must be unused or broken pieces left about or thrown aside at the time when the restored temple was being roofed.

The stamps are of two different but contemporary types, one inscribed  $\text{ΙΕΡΟΙ ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ}$ , and the other  $\text{ΒΟΡΘΕΙΑΣ ΙΕΡΟΙ}$ .<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 10)

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence as to the rebuilding of the foundation of the temple, *v.* *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 57-77.

The re-use of the archaic capital before it was taken as rubble by the builders of the theatre, suggests that this reconstruction was considerably earlier than their time, and the epigraphical evidence of the stamped tiles<sup>1</sup> points to the Hellenistic period. It is therefore not improbable that it is to be connected with the re-establishment of the Lycurgan constitution in 178 B.C., and the stamps may well belong to this date. The walls of the city were rebuilt at this time, and this activity in building might well be extended to a temple so closely connected with the discipline of Lycurgus. This second-century date gains some support from the *stèle* of Xenokles, on

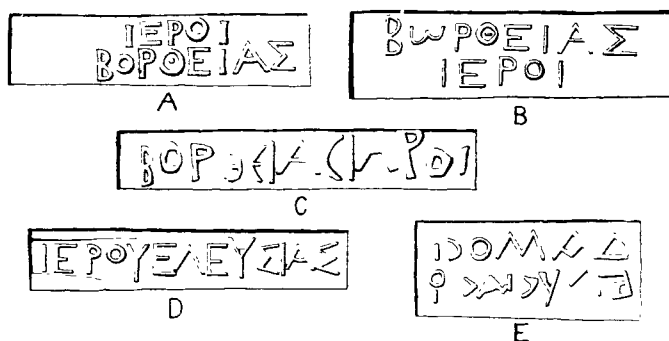


FIG. 10.—STAMPED TILES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS ORIHIA.  
(SCALE 1 : 3.) (Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 38, Fig. 6.)

which the façade of the temple is represented in relief.<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 11) This *stèle* Mr. Woodward has dated to the second century, and the curious idea of combining a relief of the façade of the temple with the usual dedicatory inscription is much more easily explained on the supposition that the temple was new at the time, and so an object of especial interest. It shews a Doric temple *in antis*, but beyond this no safe conclusions can be drawn. In particular the ornament in the pediment must be regarded as purely conventional.

In this condition, so far as we know, the hieron remained until the

<sup>1</sup> They have been published in facsimile by Mr. Wace in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 38, Fig. 6. A, B, from which Fig. 10 is reproduced. A third type, **BOPOEIAS IAPOT**, was rare and from its lettering seems to date from the imperial period. All the examples were found at the Roman level, and Mr. Wace suggests that probably only a few such tiles were made for later repairs.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription, No. 47 (2161), has been published in *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 95.

building of the Roman theatre in the third century A.D. The only structure which may have been built at an earlier date is the Roman altar which rests upon the blocks already described as belonging to an older altar. Its remains, however, shew such very poor work, that it is hardly likely to be earlier than the theatre, and it is most probable that when the theatre was built, a new altar was also constructed.

From the fourth century B.C. until the third A.D., the Sanctuary was gradually acquiring the long series of dedicatory inscriptions, of which

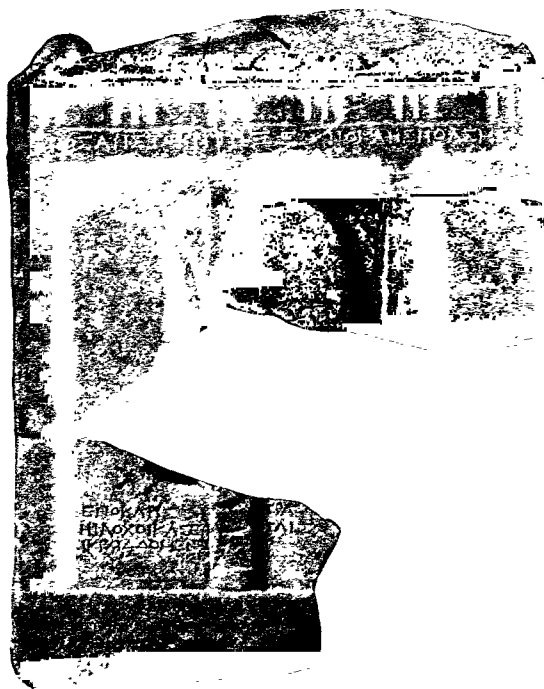


FIG. II.—STELE OF XENOKLES SHEWING THE FRONT OF THE TEMPLE.  
(SCALE *ca.* 1 : 7.) (Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 95 )

more than a hundred have been found in the course of the excavation. They were nearly all built into the foundation of the Roman theatre, and their date therefore gives a *terminus post quem* for its construction. Mr. Woodward has made a detailed study of these inscriptions, and ascribes the earliest example to the fourth century B.C. and the latest to after 225 A.D., whilst the great majority of them fall within the latter part

of the first and the second century A.D.<sup>1</sup> Although the proportion of the original number preserved is quite unknown, and no doubt the operation of pure chance has made this very unequal for different periods, still that so many come from these two centuries points to a great increase in the custom of setting up these dedications.

Besides these dedicatory *stelai*, the hieron was decorated with statues. Some were honorary, such as that which his colleagues set up to Pratolaos for his excellence as a citizen, his support of the system of Lycurgus, and his friendliness towards themselves;<sup>2</sup> but the more interesting and remarkable were a series of statues of *Bomonikai*, boys who had been victorious in the contest of endurance at the altar. The base of one of these was already in the Sparta Museum before the excavation,<sup>3</sup> and two more, dated by Mr. Woodward to the last quarter of the second century A.D., were taken out of the southern part of the foundation of the theatre, where they had been thrown down side by side. One was written in common Greek, the other in the late Spartan dialect.<sup>4</sup> The marks on the upper surface of this latter prove that a *stèle* stood in front of the statue. On this *stèle* was no doubt the victor's dedication of his prize, a sickle or possibly a crown, whilst on the base was inscribed the dedication by the city of the victor himself.<sup>5</sup> No fragment of these statues has survived. From the sockets for the feet cut on the bases it is plain that they were life-size. The ordinary *stelai* were shaped into a tenon below, and this was fixed in a mortise cut into the top of a square base, and run in with lead. As to the arrangement of the *stelai* and statues in the hieron there is no evidence. The destruction when the theatre was built was too complete.

Another relic of the hieron at this date is the inscribed stone seat dedicated by Soixiadas to Orthia (Fig. 12), which shews that, even before the theatre was built, there was some regular seating, at all events for distinguished persons. It was found, like the statue bases, at the bottom of the Roman foundation, which makes it clear that the builders began their foundation by throwing down all the heavy marbles. Its exact provenance was the south-eastern part of the foundation, and thus nearly

<sup>1</sup> For a list of these inscriptions arranged chronologically *v. B.S.A.* xv, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Published in *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *S.M.C.* p. 50, No. 252.

<sup>4</sup> Published in this volume pp. 54 *sqq.*, the numbers being 2720 and 2721, and Pl. VI.

<sup>5</sup> Of these *stelai* set up by *Bomonikai* only one fragment has been preserved. It is published in *B.S.A.* xii, p. 368 (No. 20, 2163). *Cf.* also Professor Bosanquet, *ibid.*, pp. 314 *sqq.*

opposite to the temple. As so heavy an object is not likely to have been moved more than was necessary, it is likely that its original position was near this point, and that it was therefore an official seat directly facing the temple in the central line of the hieron. That Soixiadas was an official person the words of the inscription prove (*γεροντεύσας τρις καὶ πρέσβυς γενόμενος δῖς*), and there was also an Eponymus Soixiadas, who is possibly the same man. Mr. Woodward considers that it cannot be earlier than the middle of the first century B.C., and if this Soixiadas is to be identified with other persons of the same name, not later than 100 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

The plan shews a drain passing across the space in front of the temple, broken off at both ends by the foundation of the theatre, to which

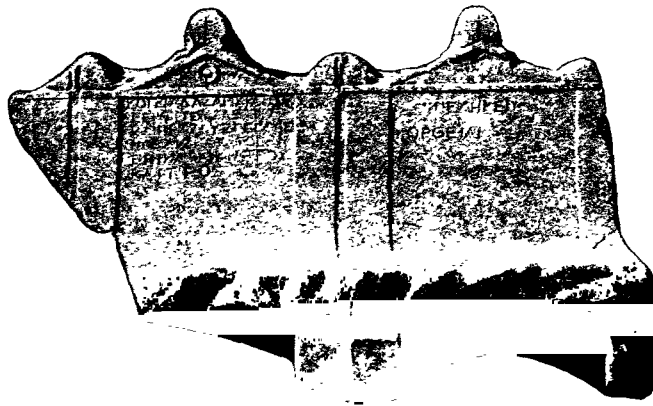


FIG. 12.—STONE SEAT DEDICATED BY SOIXIADAS. (SCALE *ca.* 1 : 13 )  
(Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 104 )

it is therefore anterior. Its level is so well above that of the sixth century that it may be put down to Hellenistic or imperial times. It is made of a series of terracotta pipes jointed together, and has a slight fall in the direction of the river.

Some time after 225 B.C. the last great change took place in the hieron. In order to accommodate the numerous spectators who came from all regions to Sparta to witness the rites of the goddess, the theatre in front of the temple was constructed. So little concern was shewn for antiquity that many, if not all, the old *stelai* and statue-bases were thrown

<sup>1</sup> For the publication of this seat with the photograph reproduced above, *v.* *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 103 *sqq.*

down and used as building material. They have in this way been preserved, and the numerous dedicatory inscriptions which have been published in previous reports were recovered from the masonry of the foundation, when parts of it were removed to lay bare the lower strata. The magistrates' names on these *stelai* admit of fairly close dating, and as one of them belongs after 225 A.D., the middle of the third century is suggested as a date for the building, for a *stèle* is hardly likely to have been thrown aside less than twenty-five years after its erection.

The descriptions of this theatre by earlier travellers have been collected by Professor Bosanquet.<sup>1</sup> The plan shews its peculiar arrange-



FIG. 13.—REMAINS OF THE ROMAN, RESTING ON THE REMAINS OF THE EARLIER GREEK ALTAR. (Reproduced from *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 62, Fig. 10.)

ment, by which the façade of the temple took the place of the stage building, and the altar occupied a place in the arena, not, however, in its centre, but near the eastern limit. This position was fixed by the apparent necessity of constructing it exactly above the previous altars, the correspondence to which in position and orientation is strikingly plain in the sectional drawing on the line *G-H* (Pl. V); and, with the altar so placed, it would have needed a very much larger theatre to bring it into the centre of the

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 305 *seq.*



arena. This was also unnecessary, as the centre of interest was not only the altar but all the space between it and the front of the temple.

This Roman altar was a patchwork construction of used blocks and brickwork, probably originally covered with marble slabs. A stone seat was built into it, probably part of the seating arrangements of the earlier period. Its ruined condition appears in the photograph published in the 1907 report and reproduced here (Fig. 13), where the blocks of the earlier altar upon which it rested are also shewn.<sup>1</sup>



FIG. 14.—REMAINS OF THE THEATRE LOOKING WEST TOWARDS TAYGETOS.  
PIER X IS IN THE FOREGROUND.

The construction of the theatre itself, the external piers and arches and the system of radial walls supporting the seats, has already been described.<sup>2</sup> It differs in no way from that of an ordinary Roman amphitheatre, except in having the opening for the temple. The exact condition in which it was found is shewn in the Plan published in the 1907 report,<sup>3</sup> and in the photographs in Figs. 14 and 15. Since then considerable portions

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 62, Fig. 10. A plan and elevation are given *ibid.*, p. 63, Fig. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Its plan in *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 45-55, and the method of construction of the foundation in *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. II, to which reference should be made for the details in the following paragraphs.

of it have been removed in order to expose the strata below, and its present state may be seen from the General Plan accompanying this report. Enough was preserved to make its plan clear: a main entrance between Piers VII and VIII of the outer arcade, with an arched passage opposite it leading either to the arena or to the lower seats.<sup>1</sup> Traces of four out of the probable six staircases, which led to the upper seats, and the remains of what seems to have been an elevated tribunal facing the front of the temple, could all be distinguished. Traces were preserved of the steps which led



FIG. 15.—REMAINS OF THE THEATRE LOOKING EAST, THE EUROTAS IN THE BACKGROUND. THE FIRST PIER VISIBLE IS IV.

up to this tribunal, the existence of which is implied also by the mass of masonry a little to the north inside the radial wall XV which rises well above the probable level of the seats. It occupied the same central position above the altar and opposite to the temple, in which the marble seat dedicated by Soixiadas had stood in the earlier period, and without doubt served the same purpose.

<sup>1</sup> From the plan given by the French Expedition to the Morea, it appears that there was a second similar entrance in a corresponding position to the north. This plan has been reproduced, with the insertion of the temple, in *B.S.A.* xii, p. 309, Fig. 4, and again in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 51, Fig. 4. The original is in *Expédition Scientifique de Morée*, ii, Pl. 48, Fig. 1.

The unfortunate break in the outside line of the foundation near this point makes it impossible to say how the piers were arranged with reference to the entrance to this tribunal. There is no trace on the foundation where Pier XII should be, but this is perhaps accidental. The reconstruction of the eastern Piers XII, XIII, and XIV given on the 1907 plan was based on the erroneous idea that the block where Pier XII should be was *in situ*.

The plan of the theatre given by the French Expedition to the Morea marks no piers, but in the northern part of the theatre (roughly from Pier XIV to Pier XXIII in our plan, marks a solid wall curving round outside the rays, exactly in the position where the piers would be. If this is correct, it shews that the theatre had no entrances in this part, and its nearness to the city wall, which occupied the narrow space between the theatre and the river, makes this not at all unlikely. This wall ends at the north in a solid mass of masonry, and as this is the point nearest to the river and so to the city wall, this masonry may be a piece of the latter, which must therefore at this point have absolutely coalesced with the outer part of the theatre.<sup>1</sup>

The increasing irregularity of the setting out of the plan as it proceeds from the south to the west led at first to the idea that there were two periods of construction, but no further conclusion is really warranted by the facts than that the actual planning began at the part south of the temple, and, as it proceeded, grew more irregular.

The exact arrangement of the western part of the theatre, where it is terminated by a straight line at right angles to the temple, is not clear. The two sides seem to have been treated differently, and no doubt the architect had some difficulty with this part of the plan, for which ordinary theatres provided no precedent.

The level of the arena was marked by a patch of irregular pavement in front of the temple. Three of the slabs were inscribed *stelai* laid face downwards. A single step led from the pavement to the porch of the temple.<sup>2</sup>

A row of stone slabs set on edge ran round the front part of the temple at an average distance from it of one metre. Their upper edges

<sup>1</sup> For this plan see the note on p. 47 above. I doubt, however, if its accuracy is sufficient to make such inferences at all certain.

<sup>2</sup> The pavement appears in the plan in *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. II, and in the photograph in *ibid.* p. 56, Fig. 5. The inscriptions are No. 40 (2482), *v. B.S.A.* xii, p. 376; No. 56 (2562), *v. ibid.* xiii, p. 185; No. 62 (2561), *v. ibid.* p. 188. They all date to the first century A.D. (*ibid.* xv, p. 73).

must have been just visible above the Roman level. Their object is not apparent.<sup>1</sup>

It is always possible that some of the earlier statues and inscriptions were saved to decorate this arena. That the custom of setting them up continued is proved by the row of bases found on the eastern edge of the arena, which belong to this time. They were all old bases re-used and irregularly arranged, some being even upside down. None were inscribed, but on one are the marks of the feet of a statue, and in front of them the groove for the lower part of a *stèle*. As this was the arrangement of the statue and *stèle* of a *Bomonikes*, it is probable that this base belonged to one of these statues. It is also very possible that these were especially selected for preservation when records of less interest were thrown away. If this were so, it would account for the small number of *Bomonikes* inscriptions which have been preserved, as stones left above ground have been exposed to the depredations of ages, and in fact inscriptions from the Sanctuary have been found built into houses in the modern town, and even as far off as the hamlet of Magoula.<sup>2</sup>

Above the level of the floor of the theatre a number of terracotta figurines have been found, which are thus dated by their position to not earlier than the latter part of the third century. The more important are figures of Artemis, often girt with an animal's skin, and a figure, probably male, with a high conical head-dress and wearing a long robe and mantle, carrying a jug in the right hand. Numerous fragments belong to a group at least 30 m. high, representing Artemis with a dog fawning upon her, the figures standing upon a base inscribed ΠΕΙΘΕΡΟΣ. Of all these types there are a great number of examples; other types, lamps and vases, were also found, but in smaller numbers. All without exception are of poor work and of a coarse red clay without paint.<sup>3</sup>

Although the foundations of this building are no doubt responsible for the removal of a good deal of early deposit from the sixth century onwards, the raising of the level by means of the sand prevented them from touching the earlier and more interesting remains. Of the sixth century we have an

<sup>1</sup> The discovery of slabs in front of the temple is against their having served merely to mark the point at which the theatre was to be cut off, as seemed possible when only the slabs at the sides were known. Nor would such marking be necessary. Cf. Professor Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* xii, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> For examples see *B.S.A.* xii, p. 314, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> For these figurines see Bosanquet, *B.S.A.* xii, p. 313, and footnote.

abundance preserved in the deposits by the western half of the temple, and what we have later than this in the arena and houses shews such a decadence, that a small quantity is enough. The theatre has also been of the utmost service in resisting the attacks of the river, and so preserving the unique deposit of the archaic period. Of this, the destruction of the northern part of the theatre, the extent of which is shewn on the plan, has allowed some to be carried away by the river, but, owing to the distance of this part from the centre of the shrine, in all probability very little has thus been lost. The makers of the mill-stream also carried away a great deal, and the use made of the building as a quarry in recent years has been



FIG. 16.—MEDIAEVAL BURIAL AT THE ORTHIA SANCTUARY.

particularly destructive in all the part adjacent to the temple, both to the north and to the south. The extent of these ravages is shewn in detail in the plan given with the 1907 report.<sup>1</sup>

The other remains from the Roman period are a few house-walls between the theatre and the new course of the mill-stream, most of which appear on the plan.

Above the level of the theatre, especially on the southern half of the site, a number of Christian graves were found, and some Byzantine jewellery. The burials consisted of four large oblong tiles placed two and two like a gable, over the body. A photograph of one is shewn in Fig. 16. This

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. II.

affords some evidence that a church stood on the site, although the walls that were marked in the first year as Byzantine were shewn by subsequent excavation to be a part of the Theatre.<sup>1</sup>

The plan shews inside the temple a rough wall marked 'Modern Structure,' inside which it was found that the sand had been removed. It appears to be the remains of some quite late attempt to use the walls of the temple foundation as a shelter of some sort. The back wall of the temple was much destroyed in the centre, and the retaining wall and later enclosure wall were also broken on the central line of the plan, and the archaeological strata of sand and various deposits removed. It is clear that at some time a trench was cut into the temple along this line, but

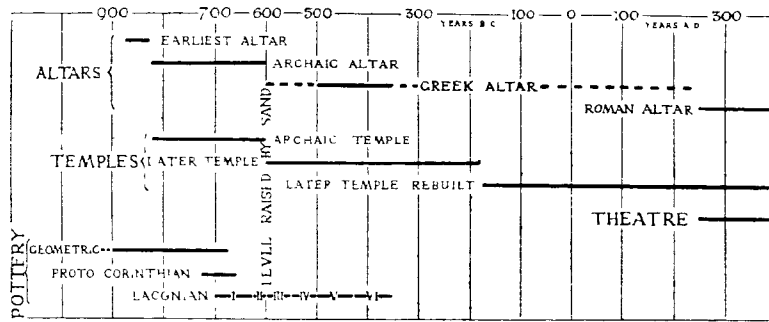


FIG. 17.—CHRONOLOGICAL DIAGRAM OF THE REMAINS AT THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA.

whether this had any connexion with the structure inside the temple or not, it is impossible to say.

The latest disturbances of the site were the cutting of the mill-stream, which damaged chiefly the N.E. corner of the temple and the foundation of the theatre, and the depredations of the nineteenth century, which so much reduced what was until then one of the most conspicuous buildings in Sparta, that, at the beginning of the excavation, the only sign of its existence was a grassy hollow answering to the arena and the section of the foundation exposed by the erosion of the river. Products, direct or indirect, of this destruction are no doubt the Orthia inscriptions which were in the Museum when we came to Sparta. Excepting for a few lead figurines, which gave the clue to the place, the Roman theatre had done its

<sup>1</sup> In the plan in *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. VIII.

work thoroughly in preserving untouched, below even the bed of the mill-stream, the great wealth of archaic objects which by their fresh light on early Sparta have given this excavation its chief importance.

The diagram in Fig. 17 presents graphically the more important dates in the history of the Sanctuary, the vertical lines marking centuries, and the horizontal the duration of the different structures and classes of objects. Explanations and qualifications are to be found in the account just given. Thus the date of the earliest altar and of the archaic altar and temple are no more than approximations: the line marked for



FIG. 18.—EILEITHYIA FIGURINES FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA.  
(SCALE 4 : 5.)

the duration of the Greek altar (500–350 B.C.) is that of the Laconian V and VI pottery found with its remains: the altar itself, or some other altar, must naturally have been there for the whole period from 600 B.C. to 250 A.D., marked by the dotted line. The building of the later temple is a clearly fixed point: the date early in the second century B.C. for its rebuilding, which certainly took place some time in the Hellenistic period, only embodies the suggestion which has been made above. The evidence on which the building of the Roman theatre is put at about 250 A.D. has also been given. The dotted line at the beginning of the period marked for

Geometric pottery indicates its possible extension into the tenth century : the Proto-Corinthian line includes neither the few ventriconical vases which are earlier in the stratification, nor naturally, the few Corinthian pieces which are later : the evidence for the periods of Laconian ware has already been given by Mr. Droop.<sup>1</sup>

The most important point in which this diagram differs from that published in 1907, is that the building of the later temple was then put to 550 instead of 600 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The cause of this error was, as has been already explained, the lack of the evidence later afforded by the Laconian III and IV pottery, which need the sixth century for their development. The beginning of the cult is also now put rather earlier, and the building of the Roman theatre, owing to the progress made in dating the inscriptions, rather later. The earlier diagram naturally contains no mention of the first temple which had not then been discovered.

A reference should here be made to the statement of Pausanias, that the Sanctuary of Eileithyia was near that of Orthia. From the first year of the excavation this statement was verified by the discovery of tiles with the stamp 'Ιεροῦ Ἐλευσίας or Δαμόσιοι Ἐλ(ε)υσίας<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 10, D, E), but no trace of the building from which they came has been found. Two figurines, shewn in Fig 18, also appear to be votive offerings to Eileithyia. One represents a pair of birth-daemons supporting a mother and newly-born child, the other a woman carrying a child. Of this latter, the head of the woman has been lost, and a further break makes it possible that she was originally carrying two children. Both were found with the debris from the archaic temple, and belong to the seventh or possibly to the eighth century.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 45 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 61, Fig. 9. The revision of the date is discussed in *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 15 and 26.

<sup>3</sup> These stamps have been published by Mr. Wace, *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 38, Fig. 6, D, E.

<sup>4</sup> The figurine with the birth-daemons was originally published in *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 53, Fig. 2, 1. For the Eileithyia Sanctuary and such figurines of women and birth-daemons, *v.* *B.S.A.* xv, p. 21.



## LACONIA.

### I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1910.

#### § 6.—INSCRIPTIONS.

THE only inscriptions found in 1910, apart from three minute fragments (Nos. 3-5), were two columnar statue-bases extracted from the foundations of the Roman Amphitheatre at the Sanctuary of Orthia,<sup>1</sup> and a much mutilated fragment of the rules for a Demeter festival from the site of the Eleusinion at Kalývia Sochás. To these are added three miscellaneous inscriptions found recently in Sparta and the neighbourhood though not in the course of our excavations. They are of little or no importance, but seemed worthy of inclusion here in order to complete the publication of all the inscribed stones on which at least one complete word is preserved, found on, or near, the site of ancient Sparta during the last five years.

1 (2720). Columnar base of bluish marble, with moulded bands round top and bottom. Height 1·10 m., diameter at top ·60 m. Letters, in l. 1, ·04 m. high; in ll. 2-3, ·03 m.; in ll. 4-10, ·02 m. Found built into the foundations of the Roman Amphitheatre, near Ray VII.<sup>2</sup>

ἈΠΟΛΙΡ  
ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ  
ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΟΝ ΖΩΙΛΩ  
ΣΥΝΕΦΗΒΟΝ ΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΩ  
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΡΤΩ ΔΑΜΑΙ  
ΝΕΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΩ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΩ  
ΕΙΡΑΝΙΩ ΝΟΡΤΩ ΥΓΕΙΝΩ  
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΩΡ ΚΑΡΤΕΡΗΑΝΤΑ  
ΠΟΔΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΩΝ ΤΟ  
ΑΝΑΛΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΒΟΥΑΓΩΝ

Ἄ πόλιρ

Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον

Εὐάρεστον Ζωίλω

συνέφηβον Μ(άρκω) Αὐρηλίω

Ἀριστοκράτηρ τῷ Δαμαί- 5

νέτῳ καὶ Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ

Εἰρανίωνορ τῷ Ὑγείνῳ

ἐπιφανῶρ καρτερήαντα,

ποδδεξάμενων τὸ

ἀνάλωμα τῶν βουαγῶν. 10

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See the plan *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. II.

The language is strikingly archaistic. The use of  $\rho$  for  $\varsigma$  in πόλιρ, Εἰρανίωνορ and ἐπιφανῶρ can be paralleled at Sparta,<sup>1</sup> though not in these particular words. For the omission of  $\sigma$  in καρτερήαντα we need only cite such forms as νεικίαρ which are frequent in the archaizing παιδικὸς ἀγών inscriptions. Προδδεξαμένων for προσδεξαμένων need not surprise us.

In l. 7 the engraver made the eighth letter P and then altered it to N; the word is the genitive case of Εἰρανίων, a name otherwise unknown at Sparta. Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀριστοκράτης Δαμαινέτου is probably the man whose name occurs in *C.I.G.* 1353 and 1355.<sup>2</sup> The recipient of the inscription is unknown elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> (2721). Similar base. Height 1·45 m.; diameter ·58 m. Letters, in l. 1, ·05 m. high; in ll. 2-8, ·03 m.; in ll. 9-12, ·025 m.

ΗΠΟΛΙΣ  
 ΜΑΡ̃ΑΥΡ̃ΚΛΕΩΝΥΜΟ<sup>Ν</sup>  
 ΤΟΝΚΑΙΥΜΝΟΝΥΜΝ<sup>Θ</sup>  
 ΒΩΜΟΝΕΙΚΗΝΣΥΝΕ  
 ΦΗΒΟΝΤΟΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩ  
 ΤΑΤΟ<sup>Σ</sup>ΕΞ̃ΠΟΜ̃ΓΟΡΓΙΠ  
 ΠΟΤΟ<sup>Σ</sup>ΟΝΑΣΙΚΡΑΤ<sup>Σ</sup>  
 ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ  
 ΠΡΟΣΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΗΣΤΟΑΝΑΛΩΜΑ  
 ΤΗΣΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΗΣΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΑ  
 ΑΡΙΣΤΗΣΑΥΡ̃ΑΓΙΟΥΤΗΣΕΥΔΑ  
 ΜΟΥΤΗΣΤΟΥΒΟΑΓΟΥΜΗΤΡ<sup>Θ</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* *S.M.C.* 219, 220; *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 185, No. 57; p. 187, No. 61. For the strange genitive Ἀριστοκράτηρ compare [Ῥ]ῶ(ν)ασικράτηρ in the last-mentioned inscription, and note *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> See *B.S.A.* xv, pp. 64 (note 1) and 65. In *C.I.G.* 1353 and 1355 he is described as ἀπὸ Δοσκούρων μδ'.

Ἡ πόλις  
 Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Κλεώνυμον  
 τὸν καὶ Ὑμνον Ὑμνου  
 βωμονείκην, συνέ-  
 φηβον τοῦ ἀξιολογω- 5  
 τάτου Σέξ(του) Πομπ(ηίου) Γοργίπ-  
 που τοῦ Ὀνασικράτους,  
 ἀνδρείας χάριν,  
 προσδεξαμένης τὸ ἀνάλωμα  
 τῆς ἀξιολογωτάτης καὶ πάντα 10  
 ἀρίστης Αὐρ(ηλίας) Ἀγίου τῆς Εὐδαί-  
 μου τῆς τοῦ Βουαγοῦ μητρός.

The use of the *κοινή* in this inscription is in striking contrast to the language used in No. 1, though they are nearly contemporary. The *βωμονείκης* is already known from Le Bas-Foucart 175 b (cf. *Rhein. Mus.* xiv, p. 522), which is likewise a statue-base to him as *βωμονείκης*. S. Pompeius Gorgippus is hitherto unknown, but is in all probability son of the same S. Pompeius Onasicrates who defrayed the costs of the honorary statue to Gorgippus Gorgippi f. recorded in *C.I.G.* 1357, and was apparently Eponymus in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>1</sup> He is probably grandfather or great-uncle, and not brother, of Sextus Eudamus Onasicratis f. (*S.M.C.* 544), who seems to belong to a later date,<sup>2</sup> and may have been named after his great-great-grandfather. The *stemma* of the family will then run thus:—

Eudamus  
 |  
 S. Pompeius Onasicrates = Aur. Hagion  
 |  
 S. Pompeius Gorgippus  
 |  
 (S. Pompeius) ? Onasicrates  
 |  
 S. (Pompeius) Eudamus (μζ' ἀπὸ Διοσκούρων).

It is noteworthy that in both these inscriptions the expenses are defrayed by the family of the *βοαγός* (or *βοαγοῖ*) to whom the *βωμονείκης* is *συνέφηβος*. It seems in the second of the instances that the *βοαγός* was a contemporary of the *βωμονείκης* who received the statue while still a boy: otherwise it is difficult to account for his mother defraying the expenses. In the previous inscription the two *βοαγοί*

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A. Jour.* *et.*

<sup>2</sup> As I suggested, *B.S.A.* xv, p. 64, note 1.

club together to pay for the erection of the statue. It is therefore to be inferred that the victors here, as in the παιδικὸς ἀγών, were συνέφηβοι to βοαγοί of their own age and not, as I attempted to show last year,<sup>1</sup> to Eponymi, unless we grant the unlikely supposition that these statues were not erected until the victors and their βοαγοί were grown up and the latter had held the Patronomate. But I will not enter upon a fresh discussion of the subject, and prefer to await the possibility of further discoveries.

The name Ἀγίων for a woman may be paralleled at Sparta by such neuter forms as Πασάριον, Ἀγάσιον,<sup>2</sup> etc. This may be the true reading of the name in *B.S.A.* xii, p. 467, No. 21, where the published restoration Ἀπ(ο)[λλώνιος] is impossible.<sup>3</sup>

There is no need to treat the question of the καρτερίας ἀγών again after Professor R. C. Bosanquet's paper,<sup>4</sup> for these two inscriptions, though of intrinsic interest, add nothing to our knowledge of the procedure at the διαμαστίγωσις.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting, however, to learn that in some cases the state decreed statues to the victors, and that the βοαγοί defrayed the expenses of their erection.

3 (2719). Fragment of grey stone, complete above only, measuring .115 × .16 × .07 m. Letters .017 m. high; probably of third century B.C. Found in Roman masonry.

~ | Ε Γ

The first letter was B or P.

4 (2718). Upper left-hand corner of large block, measuring .11 × .07 × .09 m. The inscribed surface is only roughly dressed. Letters αα. .023 m. high.

ΟΥ

The second letter was υ, and not ρ.

5 (2717). Piece of grey marble broken on all sides, measuring

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xv, pp. 49 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *B.S.A.* xii, p. 468, No. 22, p. 475, No. 35.

<sup>3</sup> The stone has apparently ΑΠCΙ as I pointed out last year. *B.S.A.* xv, p. 103. It is easy to mistake ΓΙ for Π on a worn stone. This would, of course, not be the same Ἀγίων, as the *nomen* is Claudia, not Aurelia, but probably a relative.

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 314 foll., and references *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> The other inscriptions which refer to βωμονεῖκαι are: *C.I.G.* 1364 b; Le Bas-Foucart 175 b; *S.M.C.* 252; *B.S.A.* xii, p. 368, No. 20 (= *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 102, No. 20\*).

·125 × ·125 × ·05 m. Letters ·03 m. high, in style of second or third century A.D. Found on the surface near the Sanctuary of Orthia.

ΦΟΡC	? Νικη]φορο - - -
ΝΟΙC	- - - ρθιω - - -
Φ	- - - - φ - - -

Owing to the breakage it is uncertain whether any letters preceded the φ in l. 3. This was perhaps a list of names. It is not part of the mutilated base which I published two years ago (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 106, No. 5), though the lettering is not dissimilar, as *theta* is there Θ not Ο.

6 (2722). Fragment of white marble broken on all sides, measuring ·15 × ·04 × ·045 m. Letters, which vary from ·009 m. to ·017 m. in height, arranged in two columns,<sup>1</sup> a faint vertical line being ruled on the stone to mark the edge of the first column. Found at the Eleusinion<sup>2</sup> (*Kalývia Sochás*).

ΜΟΣΤΡΙΑ	ΛΙΣΚ
ΥΝΗΘΕΙΣ	ΡΙΝΑΝΙ
ΗΜΙΧΟΙΝΙ	ΣΑΜΥΕΙ
ΙΑΙΟΥΚΩ	ΛΑΝΤΥΡΟ
ΤΗΓΗΟΥ	ΙΕΡΑΙΣΑΛ
ΕΡΟΙΣ	ΑΒΗΑΤC
	ΘΕΑΙΣΚ
	ΚΑΙ

A

B

. . . ή θοιναρ]μόςστρια  
 . . . ? σπονδὰς τὰς σ]υνήθεις  
 . . . . . ήμιχοιני-  
 . . . . . έ]λαίου κω-  
 5 . . . . . έπι] τῇ γῇ θυ-  
 ? έτω }  
 ? σίας} . . . τοῖς έ]εροις.

-----  
 λισκ[α - - - - - χύ]-  
 ριν άν[ι - - - - -  
 σαμνει - - - - -  
 λαν τυρο[ - - - - - ταῖς]  
 ιεραῖς ἀλφ[ίτων ? - - παρ]- 5  
 αβῆ ἄτο - - - - -  
 θεαῖς κ[αῖ ? - - - - -  
 καὶ - - - - -

<sup>1</sup> There may have been more than two columns, but of this there is no evidence. In A, ll. 3, 4, and 5 the last letter encroaches on the dividing line.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 13.

Apparently a fragment from the rules for procedure at a festival in honour of Demeter and Kore, for the *θουαρμόστρια*, 'the mistress of the banquet,' was an official whose existence is only known in connexion with the festival of these deities, and the term is apparently unknown outside Laconia and Messenia.<sup>1</sup>

The stone is too badly mutilated to admit of a complete and satisfactory restoration, and, especially in column *B*, the sense is in several cases irrecoverable; nor can we ascertain the original length of any line. There are moreover in all probability some lines missing from the head of both columns. There is a mark on the stone above the  $\tau$  in *A*, l. 1, which may be the lower apex of a letter in the line above, but if so the space above l. 1 was slightly wider than that between the other lines. Similarly there seem to be the faint remains of letters above the first legible line of *B*.

In *A*, ll. 3 and 4 the words *ἡμιχοῖνι*[ξ?] and *[ἐ]λαίου* suggest that this portion of the rules contained instructions for the quantities of oil, wine, etc. to be used at the sacrifices or libations. Hence we should perhaps restore *θυσίας* or *σπονδάς* in l. 2. For the letters *κω* in l. 4 I have no certain restoration to offer.<sup>2</sup> In l. 5 *[ἐπὶ] τῇ γῇ* suggests that we should supply some part of the verb *προχεῖν*, *vel sim.* *[ἰ]εροῖς* in l. 6 was apparently the last word of column *A*.

*B* is even more obscure, and does not call for lengthy comment. L. 4 seems to deal with cheese, though *|λαν* is an enigma,<sup>3</sup> and l. 5 with meal, *ἀλφ[ίτων vel sim.]* being the obvious restoration. L. 6 gives us a choice between *παρ[αλ]άβη* and *παρ[α]βῆ*, and if the latter is adopted, perhaps *ἀτο-* should be *ἄτο[πὸν τι]*.

There are two other inscriptions from Sparta dealing with a similar subject which have long been known, but they shed little or no light on our present fragment.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that in the more

<sup>1</sup> See Tod, *J.H.S.* xxv (1905), pp. 49 foll., who has succeeded in tracing to the Eleusinion all the inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of Sparta, in which the *θουαρμόστρια* is mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> I had thought of *κώ[θων]* as meaning the vessel from which the libation was to be poured, though some part of a verb, e.g. *κωλύω*, is equally possible. Or should we restore some case of the word *κωλή* (in reference to the share of the sacrifice given to the priestess or *θουαρμόστρια*, cf. *C.I.G.* 2656, l. 10), or *κωλαγρέτης*?

<sup>3</sup> Even this, however, may be a faint clue to the restoration of a passage in a 5th century Attic inscription of the same class, *I.G.* i Suppl. p. 5, No. 3 (= Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, i, 1, No. 2), where we have the letters *αντυ*, and may perhaps restore *-λαν τυ[ρο]*.

<sup>4</sup> *G.D.I.* iii 2, Nos. 4495, 4496. The former was copied by Fourmont, and restored to some extent by Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 1464. In l. 12 of the latter we have *[χ]οῖνιξ* and *τυρός*, in l. 15 *ἀλφίτων*.

complete of the two, the word Ἐλευσύνια seems to occur twice,<sup>1</sup> and there are instructions given as to the right animals to sacrifice to various Spartan divinities.

The date cannot be placed earlier than the Imperial Age on the evidence of the lettering, which is singularly rough and irregular, and the most likely explanation of this late date is that the inscription is a copy made some time in the first or second century<sup>1</sup>A.D. of an earlier code. The poor quality of the workmanship may point to a decline in the popularity of the cult of the two goddesses; this perhaps was followed by a revival, of which we may, if we choose, see indications in the distinguished station of the holders of the post of *θουαρμόστρια*, whose names are found in inscriptions of the late 2nd, and 3rd, centuries A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The following fragmentary inscriptions have been found at various times during the last five years, built into houses in Sparta and the neighbourhood.

7. At *Mistra*, on a marble slab, which is complete above and on the right, measuring .25 × .25 m. Letters .03 m. high.

ΑΕΤΗΡΣΙΝ	- - - ? πεντ]αετήρσιν
ΙΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ	- - - ? ἡ] Λακεδαίμων
ΙΑΙΣΕΙΚΟ	- - - τει]μαῖς εἰκό-
ΑΤΟΝ	νος ? - - - ]ατον.

Evidently an elegiac couplet, which perhaps recorded an athletic victory. There are no traces on the squeeze (I have not seen the stone itself) either of a fifth line or of any letters after the Ν in l. 4. If my supposition is correct we may restore ἀέθλοις in l. 2, and complete the couplet somehow thus [Στέψε με πεντ]αετήρσιν | [ἀέθλοις ἡ] Λακεδαίμων | [χαλκείης τει]μαῖς εἰκό|[νος ? ὠκύτ]ατον.<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps the last four syllables contained the victor's name. The date is not earlier than the 1st century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *G.D.I.* No. 4495, ll. 6 and 7 (as restored by the Editor).

<sup>2</sup> *Ε. 5. Κλαυδία Δαμοσθένεια Πρατολάου, C.I.G.* 1446. Cf. Tod, *loc. cit.* p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Even this doggerel may be an improvement on the original version.

8. At *Parori*, on the lower part of a marble stele measuring 14 x 23 m. The inscription seems to be complete below. Letters 0.15 m. high.

ΙΤΗΙΕΠΑΡΧΙ,	- - - ? πέμ]πτηι ἐπαρχί[αι - - -
ΞΜΑΛΙΣΤΑΠΡΟΣ	- - - - ς μά(λ)ιστα προσ- - -
ΙΣΚΑΙΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣΤΙ	- - - - αἰς καὶ ἐπιμελῶς π- - -
ΙΣΕΠΙΚΡΙΜΑΣΙΝΕΜΑΡ	- - - το]ς ἐπικρίμασιν ἐμαρ[τυρήθη ?

The text offers no difficulties as far as it goes, except that the first three letters of l. 3 are very much worn, and what I take to be ΙΣ might possibly be Ε, though the horizontal strokes would in this case be unusually long. Α is written by mistake for Λ in μάλιστα in l. 2. We have to deal with an official document of the early Imperial Age, of which the precise nature is uncertain. From the mention of the word ἐπαρχία in l. 1 it may be an Imperial rescript, in which case the allusion to the evidence of some ἐπικρίματα, perhaps Imperial edicts, in l. 4 is not unnatural. The latter word occurs also in *C.I.G.* 2737 a, l. 23; 4957, l. 28.

9. At a private house in Sparta. Small fragment broken on all sides, measuring 0.09 x 0.18 m. Letters 0.12 m. high, somewhat worn.

ΙΗΕΛΑΙ'C	- - - . η ἐλαπρ - - -
ΔΕΥΙΟΣΔΕΛ	- - - δε υἱὸς δευ - - -
ΞΗΞΜΟΡ	- - - σης μορ - - -
ΩΝΜ	- - - ων μ - - -

Restoration is impossible, and the division of the words is not in all cases certain. The letter-forms point to a date not long after 400 B.C., but the use of *eta* and *omega* shows that we can hardly put it earlier than that date.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.



## LACONIA.

### II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

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#### BARDOÚNIA AND NORTH-EASTERN MAINA.

THE following paper, which completes the series of papers on the classical topography of Laconia, is an account of the hill-country on the eastern side of Taygetos, bounded on the north by the road from Sparta to Anavryté, on the south by Gytheion and Pánitsa.<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1.)

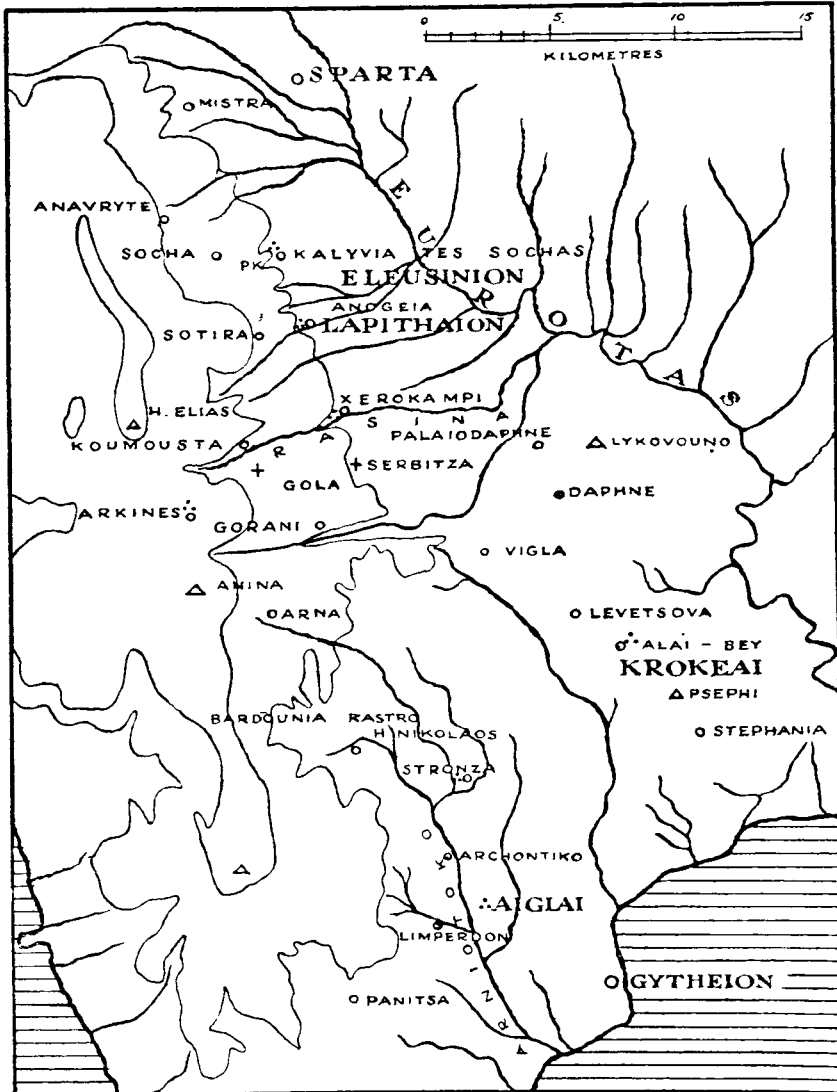
#### § 1.—ANAVRYTÉ TO XEROKÁMPI.

This district is bounded on the north by the road leading from Sparta to Anavryté and thence across Taygetos to Pegádía; on the south by the road from Xerokámpi to Koumoustá, which afterwards crosses the *col* between Hagios Elias and Anína. The modern villages of this part of Taygetos, and the most important of which are Anavryté, Sochá and Sotíra, lie in the depression between the high ridge which ends to the south in the peak of Hagios Elias, and the lower parallel chain of hills, which descend sharply into the plain on the eastern side.<sup>2</sup> They are easily reached from the plain, but direct communication between them is difficult. To the south they are cut off by the Koumoustá gorge, the track leading northwards over the ridge Tegáni being well-nigh impossible

<sup>1</sup> The adjoining districts have been described recently by von Prott, *Die Ebene von Sparta*, (*Arch. Mitt.* 1904, p. 1); A. M. Woodward, *Tacnarus and Southern Maina* (*B.S.A.* xiii, p. 238); E. S. Forster, *Gythium and the North-west coast of the Laconian Gulf* (*B.S.A.* xiii, p. 219); *South-western Laconia* (*B.S.A.* x, p. 158). The whole district is described by Ross (*Königsreisen*, ii, p. 201), who travelled through it in 1834.

<sup>2</sup> The two parallel ranges are well shown in the frontispiece to *B.S.A.* xv. On the depression between the main ridge (the 'Pentadaktylon' of mediaeval days) and the outer chain, see Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii, pp. 203-4.

for a heavily laden beast. Between the two passes I have mentioned behind Anavryté and Koumoustá there is no convenient route over



∴ = Ruins: PK = Palaikastro: + = Monastery: Δ = Mountain-top.  
ANCIENT NAMES in Large Type.

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF THE BARDOÚNIA DISTRICT.  
(Contours at 500, 1,000 and 2,000 metres.)

Taÿgetos. The villages of Sotíra and Sochá, though of considerable size, serve only as the summer-quarters of the inhabitants of Anógeia and of

the Kalývia tes Sochás, which are situated at the foot of the mountains in the plain. Being thus thinly inhabited at the present day, it is not surprising that the district contains few ancient remains.

At Anavryté, Ross<sup>1</sup> suggests that the cave, now dedicated to Panagía Pantánassa, may be the site of an ancient cult; further, he saw traces of an ancient road leading up from the plain. These have certainly now disappeared, and the absence of ancient objects at Anavryté would argue against the importance of any religious site in the neighbourhood.

The discoveries of von Prott,<sup>2</sup> and the excavation conducted in 1910 by the British School at the Kalývia tes Sochás,<sup>3</sup> have fixed without doubt the site of the Eleusinion.<sup>4</sup> About ten minutes above this point is a small ruined mediaeval watch-tower of rectangular form, built of small stones and mortar, with tiles between the joints. An hour-and-a-half further up the gorge on a peak above the road leading to Sochá, are extensive remains of a mediaeval fortress.

This has been examined both by Ross and von Prott.<sup>5</sup> On the summit are the remains of a small tower, built of small stones and mortar; round it lie ruined houses of similar construction, and to the north-east a rectangular cistern. The whole is surrounded by a wall built of large and small stones without mortar. On the western side towards Sochá is a lower, outer wall built of larger stones without mortar, and in part well

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, p. 203.    <sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 10.    <sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xvi, pp. 12 *sqq.*    <sup>4</sup> Paus. iii, 20. 5.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot follow von Prott (pp. 8 *sqq.*) in regarding this peak as the ancient Taleton. Curtius (ii, 204), Leake (*Peloponnesica*, p. 164), and Tsountas ('Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1889, p. 132) regard Hagios Elias, the highest peak in the main chain, as Taleton. Bursian (*Geographie von Griechenland*, ii, p. 104) rejects this view. The argument of von Prott depends on two hypotheses:—

1. The sites of the Eleusinion and Bryseai, over which was Taleton, are both to be sought at the Kalývia tes Sochás, the shrine of Dionysos at Bryseai standing in some sort of relation to the Eleusinion.

2. The goddesses Damia and Auxesia, worshipped together with Zeus Taletitas (Collitz-Bechtel, 4496), are identical with the goddesses of the Eleusinion. Accordingly it is necessary to find a hill near the Kalývia tes Sochas, and this is the most suitable.

We may fairly urge that Pausanias nowhere says that Bryseai and the Eleusinion lay together, nor gives any hint of a connection in cult between the shrines of Dionysos at Bryseai and of the Eleusinian goddesses. Secondly, though the origins of the divine pairs Damia-Auxesia and Demeter-Kore were due to a similar tendency (cf. Farnell, *Cults*, iii, p. 113), and their later identification was obvious, it would be remarkable that Pausanias, who is usually careful about such matters, should make no mention of Damia and Auxesia in the Eleusinion.

If we are to interpret Θῆραι as the 'hunting-ground' of the Laconians, as von Prott suggests, the ravine to the south of the hill on which the *Kastro* stands is wholly unsuitable. I would suggest that 'Therai' lay in the depression between the two parallel chains, in which case we should perhaps look for Taleton in the main chain, probably at Hagios Elias, and Evoras in the lower line of hills.

preserved. Von Prott speaks of remains of a Greek wall below this *Kastro*. This I could not find, unless he means the lower wall I have described. I should however regard this as contemporaneous with the rest, and the whole as mediaeval. A wall of similar construction exists at Palaiókastro near Chrýsapha, where are also remains of similar buildings and a cistern. In the latter place however, the finding of Greek sherds and obsidian shows that the site was inhabited in classical and perhaps prehistoric times. There is no evidence of this kind at Sochá.

The village of Anógeia has for some time been known as a source of small antiquities.<sup>1</sup> I saw in 1910 an archaic Aeginetan stater, some half-dozen lead figurines (wreaths and warrior with shield), and a seal.<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the coin, the provenance of which was unknown, all the above objects were said to have been found on the peak in the outer chain of Taygetos immediately above Anógeia, called 'στο μολύβι. The name, I was told, was derived not, as one would at first suspect, from the discovery of lead figurines, but from the fact that there existed previously an enclosure (*μανδρίτσα*), built of squared blocks and clamped with lead, the materials of which had been removed for building purposes to Sparta. The peak, which rises 850 feet above the plain, is now bare except for a thin line of broken stones. In the gorge to the south, graves are found. I was shown Hellenistic vases from one of these.

The argument of von Prott,<sup>3</sup> that Pausanias, after leaving the Eleusinion, took a southerly direction, seems convincing. According to Pausanias<sup>4</sup> Lapithaion was fifteen furlongs from the Eleusinion. Von Prott, therefore, would place Lapithaion at Anógeia, and comments on the similarity of the name to the spring Anonos, which, with Dereion, was near by. He finds a difficulty however in Pausanias' remark that Lapithaion was in Taygetos, and is doubtful whether the phrase *ἐν τῷ*

<sup>1</sup> E.g. a bronze spear-head in the Sparta Museum (*S.M.C.* No. 533). Cf. also von Prott, *op. cit.* p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> See *Notic.* below, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. iii, 20. 7. Πεντεκαίδεκα δὲ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου σταδίου ἀφίστηκε Λαπίθαιον καλούμενον ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἐγχωρίου Λαπίθου. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ Λαπίθαιον ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ Ταυγέτῳ, καὶ οὐ πόρρω Δέρειον, ἐνθα Ἀρτέμιδος ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ Δερεάτιδος, καὶ πηγὴ παρ' αὐτῷ, ἣν Ἀνονον ὀνομάζουσιν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δέρειον σταδίους προελθόντι ὡς εἴκοσιν, ἔστιν Ἀρπλεια καθήκοντα ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου.

Leake (*Travels in the Morea*, iii, 5) would place Harpleia at Mistrà, in which case it could hardly have been described by Pausanias as καθήκοντα ἄχρι τοῦ πεδίου. Curtius (ii, 251) follows Leake in making Pausanias' direction northerly from the Eleusinion. Bursian (ii, 132) rejects Curtius' view.

*Ταῦγέτω* is to be interpreted 'in Gebirge' or 'am Abhange des Gebirges'.<sup>1</sup>

If we can trust the account of the provenance of the objects I have mentioned and the tradition of walls on the hill *Ἰστομόλυβι*, the difficulty connected with the fact that Lapithaion was in *Taÿgetos* disappears, and we can place it on the peak above *Anógeia*, and perhaps follow von Prott in taking *Xerokámpi* as the site of *Harpleia* (*καθήκοντα ἀχρὶ τοῦ πεδίου*).

Twenty minutes from *Sotíra* in the direction of *Sochá*, Ross<sup>2</sup> speaks of eighteen blocks of bluish marble beside the road, which were afterwards used for building the village church. I could find no trace of these in the new church at *Sotíra*, although the top slab of the altar consists of a large worked limestone block with dowel holes. As Ross suggests, there was probably a small shrine here in antiquity.

## § 2.—WESTERN BARDOÚNIA AND NORTHERN MAINA.

The main chain of *Taÿgetos* to the south of *Hagios Elias* (above *Koumoustá* and *Xerokámpi*) is continued by a series of lower peaks, still keeping a southerly direction. As I have said, an important road passes over the *col* between *Hagios Elias* and *Anína*, above *Arkínes*.<sup>3</sup> The position of *Arkínes*, although the hamlet now consists only of two or three rude huts, had clearly a certain importance in antiquity. Close to the village *Tsountas* discovered and excavated a small tholos tomb,<sup>4</sup> and in March 1910 the dromos of a similar tomb was uncovered by the owner digging for stones. When I visited the spot in the following May, the dromos walls, built with small stones and roofed with larger slabs, were visible to a height of 75 m.<sup>5</sup>

*Tsountas* speaks of later sherds being discovered at a place called *ὁ Σπαρτίας*, to the west of *Arkínes*<sup>6</sup>; but the only classical remains I saw consisted of a small relief of late date representing a naked man in three-quarter face. The work is poor, the proportions bad, and the

<sup>1</sup> His alternative suggestion that we might look for Lapithaion at *Sotíra* is untenable, because of the distance from the Eleusinion.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> For this road see *Tsountas* (*Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1889, p. 132), who points out that while Sparta and the northern villages use the *Langáda* route to *Kalamáta*, all the southern villages use the route by *Arkínes*.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 132 and *Πρακτικά*, 1889, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> The tomb has since been excavated by Dr. *Sotiriades*, and was found to contain nothing.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 132. When I enquired for this at *Arkínes* the name seemed unknown.

whole much worn. It had been found in the bank of a small stream near Arkínes, and was being kept at Goráni, in order to be sent to the Sparta Museum.

Arkínes may be reached by two routes; by a road leading up the bed of the Goráni river, and by another leading from Xerokámpi by way of Koumoustá.<sup>1</sup>

The second road ascends the gorge of the Rasína,<sup>2</sup> in which may be traced an ancient water-channel, cut in the rock above the left bank of the stream. At the mouth of the gorge near Xerokámpi is an ancient bridge of polygonal construction, but assigned by Leake to a Roman date.<sup>3</sup> From Koumoustá the road leads to Arkínes by way of the monastery of Góla,<sup>4</sup> near which are found graves, probably of mediaeval date. Ross<sup>5</sup> mentions the discovery of a hoard of Hellenistic coins, and Dr. Komnenós possesses a Hellenistic vase from a grave in the neighbourhood.

A road leading southwards to Goráni crosses the ridge to the upper waters of the Arniótiko or Bardoúnia river at Arna, which, rising in a ravine close to Arna, flows by way of the villages of Hagios Nikólaos, Archontikó and Límperdon, and reaches the sea to the south of Gyttheion.<sup>6</sup> The country drained by the Arniótiko and its tributaries is now well populated, and the large castle of Bardoúnia close to Hagios Nikólaos testifies to its importance in the middle ages. Classical remains are however, scanty.

Hellenic graves and coins are reported from Arna.<sup>7</sup> The coins which I saw in the village were however, with one exception, Byzantine. There is nothing further to record until we come to Stronzá. In the school of this village I saw the head, bust, and right thigh of an archaic statue of

<sup>1</sup> The village of Koumoustá has recently yielded two terracotta heads now in the possession of Dr. Komnenós of Xerokámpi.

<sup>2</sup> Identified with the ancient Erasinos; see Bursian, ii, p. 132; Curtius, ii, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Leake, *Peloponnesia*, p. 117 ('The walls being indeed of the polygonal species, but not of a very massy kind'). A drawing in Mure's *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, (ii, Pl. VII) is reproduced by Leake. Cf. also Ross, ii, p. 243; Bursian, ii, p. 132; Curtius, ii, p. 265; Tsountas, *op. cit.* p. 132.

<sup>4</sup> Góla may be reached by an alternative, but more difficult route by way of the monastery of Sérbitza. The relief, mentioned by Ross (ii, p. 243) at Sérbitza, is said to have been removed to Sparta, though I find no mention of it in the Museum catalogue.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, p. 212.

<sup>6</sup> Leake (*Mora*, i, pp. 255, 266 *sqq.*) Ross (ii, p. 216), and the local antiquarians identify the Arniótiko with the Smenos of Pausanias (iii, 24, 9). Curtius (ii, p. 275), Frazer (*Paus.* iii, p. 392) and Forster (*B.S.A.* xiii, p. 233) suggest the river of Passavá, which Forster calls Turkovrysi.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Tsountas (*op. cit.*), who thinks that the name Arna is probably ancient.

the 'Apollo' type. The face was almost completely worn away, but the arrangement of the hair and shape of the thigh left no doubt as to the type.<sup>1</sup> I could ascertain only that it had been found in a garden near by.

Below Stronzá, some ten minutes above the bridge on the road to Archontikó, are the remains of the aqueduct discovered by Ross.<sup>2</sup> It is a rectangular cutting through the rock above the left bank of the stream. At either end was carved a small figure in relief. That at the upper end has been destroyed by a peasant; the other figure is a small, naked man (Herakles) resting on a club. Some hundred paces up stream is a Roman structure of stone and mortar originally spanning the stream. Two piers are visible on the left bank and in the river bed, and further traces are to be seen by the river between Stronzá and Archontikó. Ross<sup>3</sup> thought that this aqueduct led originally to Gytheion, and this perhaps influenced his identification of the Arniótiko with the Smenos.

There is nothing further to be seen until we come to the village of Límperton, near which stands the church of Hagios Demétrios, built mainly of ancient blocks and containing two Ionic capitals in the nave. This has already been described by Mr. Forster, together with the remains at Palaiochóra on the other side of the river, identified with the ancient Aigiai.<sup>4</sup>

### § 3.—EASTERN BARDOÚNIA.

This last section deals with the eastern extension of the Bardoúnia mountains which shut in the Spartan plain on the south and are themselves bounded by the lower course of the Eurotas. The principal village is Levétsova, the capital of the modern deme of Krokeai.

The site of the ancient Krokeai has been fixed at Aláí-bey,<sup>5</sup> a small village twenty minutes to the south-east of Levétsova. Here, in a field some hundred paces to the east of the village, Ross saw large marble blocks.<sup>6</sup> The ancient quarries of Krokeai are situated in the hill called

<sup>1</sup> The thigh measured 58 m. from knee to hip.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, p. 221; *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 226, 227, where no mention is made of Ross' account.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, p. 222. Cf. Paus. iii, 24. 9, ὕδωρ πιεῖν ἥδ' ἐν εἴπερ ἄλλος τις παρὰσχόμενος ποταμός. The course down to Gytheion is described by Forster, *B.S.A. loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, ii, p. 241

<sup>6</sup> Ross, *loc. cit.* When I visited Alai-bey in May, the ground, where these blocks are said to exist, was covered with corn. The man who undertook to show me the remains, was accordingly unable to find the exact spot.

Psephí, one hour to the south-east of Levétsova and to the left of the road from Aláir-bey to Stephanía.<sup>1</sup> On the summit is a ruinous modern structure of brick and blocks of porphyry, beside which lies a Doric capital. Pausanias speaks of bronze images of the Dioskouroi at the quarries, but makes no mention of any shrine. The relief representing the Dioskouroi, mentioned by Ross, is still to be seen at Levétsova in the fountain, which has been recently rebuilt.<sup>2</sup> Another small marble of poor, late work, which was brought from Aláir-bey, is built high up into the wall of the house of Mr. Konstantinos Panteleakis. It represents the forepart of a horse of small size, and beside it in much larger proportion, is a human foot. The whole originally represented one of the Dioskouroi.<sup>3</sup> In the house of Mr. Strategárchis at Levétsova I was shown the torso of a marble statue of a boy. The head, legs (below the knees), and most of the arms are missing. The boy is nude, except for a mantle round the shoulders which leaves the arms free.<sup>4</sup> It seems to be Roman work, and is said to have come from Psephí.

At Vígla, about an hour-and-a-half from Levétsova, Ross speaks of a church containing ancient blocks, and built probably on the site of an ancient temple.<sup>5</sup> There is a ruined church with fresco-paintings to the left of the road from Sparta to Gytheion by the *Khans* of Vígla, but I could see no ancient blocks, and certainly no sign of the Doric and Ionic temple-remains mentioned by Curtius.

Pausanias gives no hint of a sanctuary here in his account of the road from Sparta to Gytheion.

The ruins mentioned by Curtius<sup>6</sup> on Lykovounò above the Eurotas,

<sup>1</sup> On the quarries of Krokeai and the 'Lapis Lacedaemonius' (Pliny, *N.H.* xxxvi, 55) cf. Curtius, ii, p. 266; Bursian, ii, p. 106; Boblaye, *Recherches géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée*, p. 85; Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii, p. 374. For the geology of the district see *Expéd. Scientif. de la Morée, Géologie*, pp. 114, 129-137; Philippson, *Pelop.*, esp. p. 215.

The quarries were clearly worked at an early date; cf. Bosanquet, *J.H.S.* xxiv, p. 320, who calls attention to the discovery of blocks of the porphyry at Knossos and Palaikastro. I have seen a large block lying to the south of the grave-circle at Mycenae.

<sup>2</sup> It is a small gabled stele, measuring '39 m. x '59 m. (including the gable). The figures, which measure '36 m. in height, are almost in full face. The faces of both are much worn. Each raises the left hand above the head, the figure to the left holding a staff in the raised hand, while the figure on the right extends a *patera* in the right hand. Between them are two urns, and behind appear two horses' heads. Below is a Latin inscription (z. Forster, *B.S.A.* x, p. 187, No. 19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, p. 109, No. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Wace tells me that this probably also represents one of the Dioskouroi, comparing *S.M.C.* Nos. 92, 513. The height from knee to neck is '65 m.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, ii, p. 343. Cf. Bursian, ii, p. 132, and Curtius, ii, p. 266.

<sup>6</sup> ii, p. 266.



are those of the church of Hagios Georgios and of modern Greek houses. Neither here, nor at Daphné and Palaiodaphné, where is a ruined monastery-church, did I find ancient remains, though to Curtius the name suggests an ancient cult of Apollo.

H. A. ORMEROD.

### NOTE ON A GEM FROM ANÓGEIA.

The gem of which I publish an illustration (Fig. 2) is a chalcedony scarabaeoid. Its interest lies in the device, to the significance of which Prof. P. Gardner<sup>1</sup> first drew my attention. The gem is unfortunately



FIG. 2.—CHALCEDONY  
SCARABAEOID.  
(Scale 1 : 2.)

much damaged, but there seems no doubt as to the type. It represents a bearded figure wearing a tunic which reaches to the knees, and holding a bow in the outstretched arm; in the other hand which is lost, he holds a javelin pointing downwards. Although most of the head and face are wanting, the pose is exactly that of the Great King on Persian coins. On the impression, from which the photograph is made, the figure is advancing to the left, on the coins to the right. Apart from this there is a complete correspondence between the two types. Besides the arm holding the bow and the javelin pointing to the ground, we may note the beard, the semi-kneeling position, the bared arm and tunic just clearing the knee of the advanced leg.<sup>2</sup> Both Babelon and Furtwängler<sup>3</sup> derive the coin-type from the archaic Herakles figures. The style of the gem is closely parallel to that of a Graeco-Persian cylinder in the British Museum published by Furtwängler,<sup>4</sup> who notes the strong Greek influence. The execution of the present example is not so good; the feet are carelessly drilled and the muscles of the arm not indicated. The dress again, is without fringe. A seal of similar shape and material.

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank both Prof. Gardner and Mr. L. W. King of the British Museum for advice in the publication of this gem.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies*, ii, p. 251; Mr. Hill compares the type of the staters of Mallus (B.M. Cat. *Lycaonia*, Pl. XVII, 4, 5).

<sup>3</sup> *Ant. Gemmen*, iii, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* Pl. I, 14.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Furtwängler, *op. cit.* Pl. I, 14 slaying an animal; *ib.* vol. iii, Fig. 84, in combat with a Greek warrior.

published by Perrot and Chipiez,<sup>1</sup> represents the king standing alone, as an archer shooting with the bow, but without the spear. These two examples are the only gems that I know representing the king standing alone as on the coins, and not as one of a group.

H. A. O.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. p. 852, Fig. 499.

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CORRIGENDA.

LACONIA. TOPOGRAPHY. *B.S.A.* xv.

Page 175, Fig. 11. *For* TOWER AT PLAKA, LEONIDI, *read* WALL AT NEOTRIVI, *see* page 165

Page 176, Fig. 12. *For* WALL AT LEONIDI, *read* TOWER AT PLAKA, LEONIDI, *see* page 174

## LACONIA.

### III.—EARLY POTTERY FROM GERAKE.

DURING the trial excavations carried out on the acropolis of Geraki in 1905 a certain number of fragments of interesting prehistoric pottery were found, as announced in the report published.<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that it might be possible to examine the site again, and to obtain further information about its occupation in early times. This hitherto has not been possible, and therefore there seems no reason why the fragments should not be illustrated, since they seem to be the earliest pottery yet

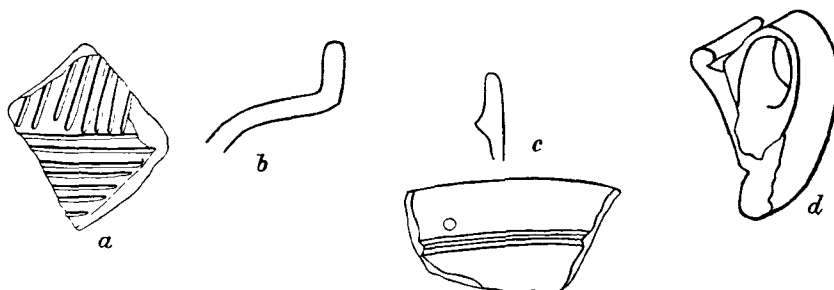


FIG. 1.—MONOCHROME HAND-MADE WARE. (Scale 2 : 5.)

found in Laconia. The fragments found, fall into the following classes:—

(A) Monochrome, hand-made ware: the biscuit is grey, and well polished with a brown surface. To this class belong three pieces in Fig. 1 *b-d*; the first is from a narrow-necked bowl, the second from a jar that had a rim inside its lip to support a lid, and the third (*d*) is a broad ribbon handle on the lip of a large, open, flat bowl. The fourth fragment (Fig. 1 *a*) is unpolished, but of the same clay as the other fragments, and is decorated with incised lines.

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xi, pp. 96 ff.

(*B*) Hand-made painted ware with matt black patterns on a pinkish biscuit. To this class belong the three pieces seen in Fig. 2 *a-c*, and there are a few other fragments similar to *c*.

(*C*) Wheel-made painted pottery with matt black patterns on a pinkish biscuit: there is one complete vase of this class (Fig. 3), a jar with a loop handle on the rim, and one small piece of a similar jar. Two other fragments are seen in Fig. 2 *d, e*. The clay, paint, and fabric are the same as in class (*B*), the only difference being that these sherds are wheel-made.

(*D*) Local Mycenaean ware (?): two pieces of dull pink clay with matt black patterns, which include curvilinear designs. These are similar in

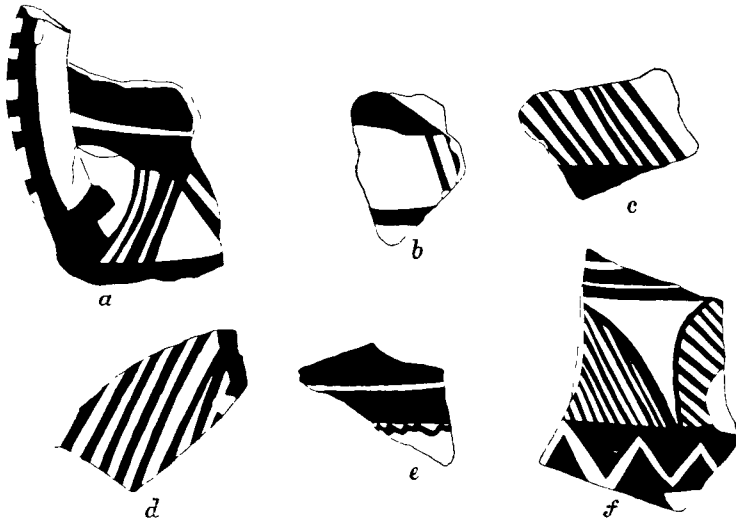


FIG. 2.—HAND-MADE PAINTED WARE. (Scale 2 : 5.)

technique to the last class, but differ in the patterns. It is possible that they are local imitations of imported Mycenaean ware.

Finally, in Fig. 2 *f*, is figured a sherd that is hard to classify. It has dull black patterns on the same pinkish biscuit, but on the broad belts at the top and bottom are white lines and a zigzag surcharged on the other colour. There are two similar pieces with lustrous paint. The fragments resemble Geometric ware, and may possibly be a local variety, but the paint has no resemblance to that on the Geometric pottery from the Amyklaion, the Menelaion, and the Orthia and Chalkioikos sites at Sparta,<sup>1</sup> though the patterns recall each other.

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 118 ff. ; cf. *ibid.* p. 120, Fig. 1 *q*.

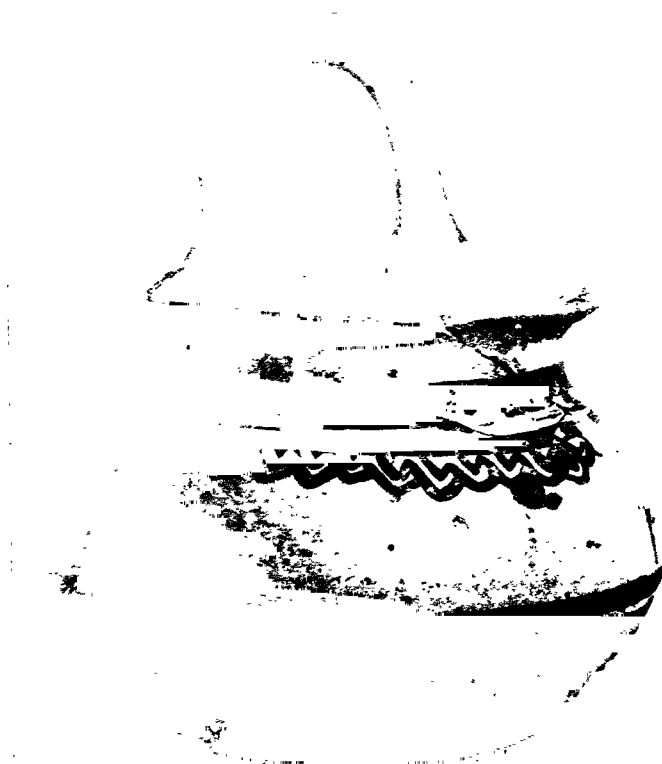


FIG. 3.—WHEEL-MADE VASE OF CLASS (C). (SCALE 3:4.)

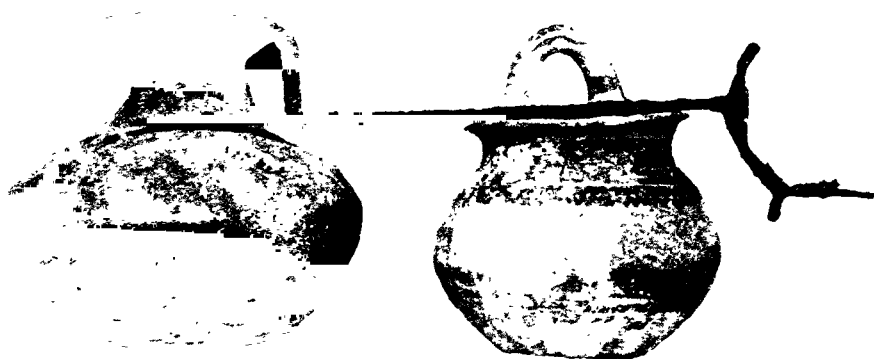


FIG. 4.—CONTENTS OF CIST TOMB AT GLERAKI. (SCALE 1:2.)

The first class (*A*) would, if found alone, be classed as neolithic, but this is not certain, although as far as fabric is concerned, they seem to be very primitive. In the excavation three cist tombs were found, built of slabs; two contained nothing but one skeleton each. The other contained one skeleton and the two pots and the bronze pin figured in Fig. 4. Of the pots, one is a hand-made and polished jug, similar in many ways to the sherds of class (*A*), the other pot is exactly similar to the complete pot of class (*C*), Fig. 3. Are we then to assume that the two styles are contemporaneous? It is impossible to give an answer in the present state of our knowledge. It is to be noted that the sherds of classes (*B*) and (*C*) resemble the so-called *Mattmalerei* ware of early Mycenaean times, which occurs at Aegina, Argos, Mycenae, Eleusis,<sup>1</sup> and many other sites. In fabric the Geraki sherds most resemble those from the Argive Heraion,<sup>2</sup> but vases like the two seen in Figs. 3 and 4 occur at Steiria in Attica,<sup>3</sup> and at Sésklo and Diméni in Thessaly.<sup>4</sup> The bronze pin found in the tomb is very remarkable. Its head, which seems to represent a horned duck, is similar in many ways to the bronze birds of the period of Geometric pottery found at Sparta<sup>5</sup> and elsewhere.

Till further finds of early objects are made in Laconia it is useless to discuss these sherds from Geraki in detail, for they have no context. But the exploration of Helos, when it comes, will probably throw more light on this subject.

A. J. B. WACE

<sup>1</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895, pp. 235 ff.; *B.C.H.* 1906, pp. 8 ff.; Schliemann, *Mycenae*, pp. 146, 162, 163; Furtwangler-Loschke, *Myk. Thongefasse*, Pls. I, 6, IV, 13, 16, 17; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1898, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii. Pl. V. <sup>3</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895, p. 201

<sup>4</sup> Τσούντας, *Διμήνι καὶ Σέσκλο*, p. 133, Fig. 33; p. 151, Fig. 66.

<sup>5</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 111, Fig. 2, *b*, *c*, *d*.

# A JOURNEY IN SOUTH-WESTERN ASIA MINOR.

(PLATES VII., VIII.)

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## PART I.—ITINERARY AND TOPOGRAPHY.<sup>1</sup>

[THIS paper describes the results of a short journey in South-Western Asia Minor undertaken by Messrs. A. M. Woodward and H. A. Ormerod of the British School at Athens, in June and July of 1910. Its main purpose was to search for prehistoric remains in the district lying to the west of Adalia (Attaleia in Pamphylia), namely in northern Lycia, south-western Pisidia and southern Phrygia, and to this end Mr. Woodward was in receipt of a grant from the Oxford Craven Fund. The prehistoric sites which were noted and the objects which were found, together with the circumstances which drew attention to the existence of prehistoric remains in this district, are dealt with in detail in the second part of this paper by Mr. Ormerod, who contributes also a special study of the pot-fragments collected. The first part describes the route followed, with notes on such remains of classical antiquity as seemed to merit discussion; the inscriptions found, and the coins obtained are dealt with by Mr. Woodward in Parts III. and IV. respectively.—ED.]

### § 1.—*Adalia to Termessos.*

We left Smyrna on June 11th, and arrived at Adalia on the 14th.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The map (Fig. 1) is based on that in *B.M. Coin Catalogue, Lycia*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> It is our pleasant task to offer our grateful acknowledgments to the following gentlemen who rendered us assistance in various ways: Mr. G. A. Keun, H. B. M. Vice-Consul at Adalia; H. E. The Mutesarîf of Adalia; Their Excellencies the Governors of İstânoç, Elmalı, and Tefénny. To many unknown friends for spontaneous and cordial hospitality and help, and particularly to Mr. Nikolas Michael Ferteklis of Adalia, an indefatigable epigraphist and numismatist, who accompanied us on the first portion of our journey, and whose local knowledge was most helpful to us.

After making our necessary arrangements and copying two inscriptions<sup>1</sup> we left on the 16th for Yenije-Boghaz-Kahve, which is within a short



FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF LYCIA, PISIDIA, ETC.

distance of the site of Termessos. Our mid-day halt was made at Ouzoun-Gouyou-Kahve, a few minutes to the west of the ruined town first described

<sup>1</sup> The one, published in this volume (p. 185) by Mr. F. W. Hasluck, who called my attention to the existence of the stone, records the capture of Adalia on August 24th, 1361, by 'Pierre .Roy .d'Ierusalem e de Chipre.' The other is known already (*C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 6737), but see note below, p. 127. The fullest list of the inscriptions at Adalia is given in Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*, i. pp. 153 ff. [quoted henceforward as Lanck.].



by Spratt and Forbes,<sup>1</sup> and by them called Lagon. The modern road no longer passes by Evdir Khan,<sup>2</sup> but diverges to the left about a mile before : a track still leads to the Khan, which seems, in the matter of preservation, to be in the same condition as when Spratt and Forbes saw it in 1842. We did not attempt a complete examination of the site, which is summarily



FIG. 2.—TOWER ON THE S. SIDE OF THE ENTRANCE TO YENIJE-BOGHAZ.

described also by Hirschfeld,<sup>3</sup> Count Lanckorónski's expedition, and Rott, but one of the two inscriptions which we copied seems to be new.<sup>4</sup> Owing

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Lycia*, etc. i. p. 228 [quoted henceforward as S.F.]; Lanck. i. p. 19, and other authorities quoted there. Cf. E. J. Davis, *Anatolia*, pp. 220 ff., who went over the first part of our route, but did not collect any archaeological material of value. He alludes to the site here mentioned 'near Uzunkoyou' Kahve, and calls it Ariassus (as=Aarassos in Strabo, xii, 7), though he adduces no evidence. See the notes that follow.

<sup>2</sup> Evdir is the spelling adopted by H. Kiepert, *Spezialkarte vom Westlichen Kleinasien*, (1890-91; scale 1=250,000). In Lanck. it is spelt Ewdir; it is called both Eski Khan and Evdeer Khan in S.F. i. pp. 226, 230. The interior is figured in Lanck. ii. p. 123, Fig. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Monatsber. der Akademie zu Berlin*, 1874, pp. 716-718.

<sup>4</sup> Below, No. 2. No. 1 had been copied already, together with some others, by Rott, see below, *et. seq.* C.I.G. 4341-2, *et. seq.* were copied here by Schonborn.

to its proximity to Adalia it would be an easy task for some future traveller to copy fully the inscriptions, mostly on sarcophagi, which abound on the site. One might thus perhaps discover its ancient name, for Lagon, which is the name given to it by Spratt and Forbes, is based on a misunderstanding of the route taken by Manlius in 189 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and seems to be a perverted form of the name Lagbe<sup>2</sup> which is now given to a site near the north-western corner of Lake Karalitis. Ramsay identified the ruins at Evdir Khan with Trebenna,<sup>3</sup> but the latter has since been located beyond doubt further to the south-west,<sup>4</sup> at the mouth of a gorge which opens eastwards towards the Pamphylian gulf; and so the site still lacks a name based on epigraphic evidence,<sup>5</sup> though Rott's recent suggestion, Jovia (Eudokia), seems to suit best the evidence from the *Notitiae*,<sup>6</sup> which I will not attempt to discuss here.

Continuing in a westerly direction<sup>7</sup> we crossed the dry bed of a stream and entered the pass, the mouth of which is guarded by two well-built towers of 'regular Hellenic' masonry standing at the foot of the hills on each side, at a distance of about a mile from each other.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 2.)

In the narrower part of the gorge, after riding for about an hour, we

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Livy, xxxviii. c. 16. Lagon, as Hirschfeld points out (*loc. cit.*), is not in Pamphylia, whereas this site certainly is.

<sup>2</sup> For the true site of Lagbe see below, p. 88 and note.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* x. (1885), p. 343.

<sup>4</sup> Lanck. ii. pp. 78, 223, 224; Heberdey-Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen im s.w. Kleinasien*, [*Denkschriften der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, xlv. (1897)], pp. 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> The phrase *ποταμὸς Λαγόνων* in the inscription (Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, 808) found here by Spratt and Forbes is not a clue to the name of the site. In Lanck. i. p. 19, it is suggested that the town was a deme of Olbia or Attaleia, e.g. Uliambos or Kanavra, but Ramsay (*Ath. Mitt. loc. cit.*) thinks the former name merely a mistake for *δημιον Ὀλβιανῶν*.

<sup>6</sup> *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pamphylien, Pisidien*, etc. (1908), p. 30. He has no real evidence in support of his contention that Jovia was the earlier name of Eudokia; the latter name he supposes was substituted in the time of Eudokia (wife of Theodosius II., 421-431 A.D.) That it survives in Ew(y)de, the name of the Khan, does not seem convincing; we understood the name to be Evdir, as did Spratt and Forbes.

<sup>7</sup> By the direct road now practicable for wheeled traffic from Adalia to Yenije-Boghaz-Kahve and Istanoz: this follows at first the route taken by Spratt and Forbes, S.F. i. pp. 225 ff., but, after passing Y.-B.-Kahve, zig-zags up the left side of the pass. The old bridle-track, which is steep and stony, lies in the actual defile (the Yenije-Boghaz), and is still used as a short cut.

<sup>8</sup> S.F. i. p. 231; Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.* Dimensions of that to the S, 6.25 × 6.25 (only about three courses standing); of that to the N., 10.75 (N.S. walls) × 8.40 (E.W. walls). The latter has a door 96 wide with square hole for bolt, near the middle of the S. wall. At one corner as many as seventeen courses of masonry are still standing. A view of that to the south is given in Fig. 2.

came upon the striking line of fortification<sup>1</sup> about a quarter of a mile in length (Fig. 3), which extends right across the pass, and is strengthened with towers, *ca.* 5 metres square, at more or less regular intervals. A mile further on, after passing two other ruined towers on the left of the road, we found comfortable quarters at Yenije-Boghaz-Kahve.



FIG. 3.—WALL IN YENIJE-BOGHAZ LOOKING N. FROM THE ROAD

### § 2.—*Termessos to Isinda.*

The magnificent site and remains of Termessos<sup>2</sup> have been so well described and illustrated by the Lanckorónski expedition<sup>3</sup> that we need

<sup>1</sup> S.F. i. pp. 231, 240; Hirschfeld, *loc. cit.* Among the sketches made by the Rev. E. T. Daniell, who accompanied Spratt and Forbes on their journey in 1842, and now preserved in the British Museum, is one (unfinished) showing the valley and the wall running across, made from a point high up on the northern side of the pass, inside the line of the wall. (*Cf. Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists...preserved in the Dept. of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, vol. ii., p. 15, No. 41.) No. 40 is a view of the site of Termessos, from the hills above the city to the W., and No. 44 is an unfinished view of Elmali. Mr. F. W. Hasluck kindly called my attention to these delightful sketches, the majority of which represent scenes and sites in Lycia. No other drawings in this series illustrate the route described in these pages.

<sup>2</sup> First identified by Spratt and Forbes, S.F. i. pp. 232 ff. A view of the theatre is given here, Fig. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Lanck. ii. pp. 21-122, and Plates I.-XXI.

not enter into a description of them here, nor could we hope to add anything to the knowledge of the antiquities of the site from a short day's visit. The inscriptions<sup>1</sup> and the northern group of grave-monuments<sup>2</sup> have been the subject of special study already, but there can be no doubt that systematic excavation would add still further to our knowledge of the site. There has been apparently no subsequent occupation since the

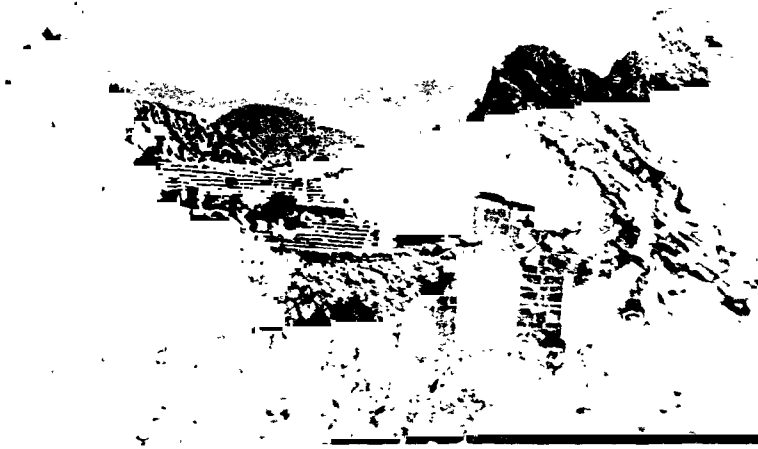


FIG. 4.—THEATRE AT TERMESSOS.

city was deserted, and no stones have been removed elsewhere for building purposes. We were fortunate in finding, half-buried in the rubble close to the ruined street with the numerous statue-bases,<sup>3</sup> the remains of a statue, illustrated herewith (Fig. 5). As the photograph shows, it is the lower half of a female statue draped round the hips and below, with a figure of Eros on a dolphin beside her right foot. The work, which is of life-size, seemed on superficial examination to be Roman, and represents a well-known type of Aphrodite and Eros, of which a copy, smaller but more complete than

<sup>1</sup> Lanck. ii. pp. 196-223; Cousin, *B.C.H.* xxiii. (1899), pp. 165 ff., 280 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Heberdey-Wilberg, *Jahresh.* iii. (1900), pp. 177 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Lanck. ii. plan facing p. 21, L 5.

that here described, was found at Cyrene and is now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> There is a small difference in the motive as the drapery knotted round the hips of the Cyrene statue is held up with the right hand, but in the new replica with the left, so far as can be seen by the traces of fingers remaining on the upper fold. We also saw at the bottom of a pit recently



FIG. 5.—GROUP OF APHRODITE AND EROS FROM TERMLISSON.

excavated beside the smaller temple marked N 5 in the Austrian Plan, a headless draped female figure, which seemed of poor Roman workmanship and unworthy of further study. In the position which it occupied it was impossible to photograph it.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Smith, *B.M. Sculpture*, ii. pp. 237 ff., No. 1418; Nos. 1419, 1420, 1421 seem to be small fragments of similar groups; see also Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, pp. 245, 263, 300; Reinach, *Rép. de Sulpt.* ii. p. 357, No. 9.

The road from Yenije-Boghaz-Kahve to Istánoz, though it does not pass any ancient remains of importance, more than atones for this deficiency, especially in its earlier stages, by the picturesque and varied prospects which it affords. As the traveller ascends the valley he passes through forests of well-grown pine-trees which alternately hide and reveal the rugged crags of limestone forming the mountain-*massif* of north-eastern Lycia, and an occasional backward glímpse down the valley shows the converging hill-sides through which the defile is entered; behind them is the shimmering haze which masks the Pamphylian plain, and in the far distance are the wild mountain tops overlooking the middle waters of the Eurymedon and the frontier of Cilicia. When the summit of the pass is reached there is a short drop to the little valley, clearly a dried up lake-bed, in which is Gíoljuk-Kahve<sup>1</sup>; a sharp ascent out of this depression at its south-western end, and a gentle descent at first over a rich and well-watered 'alp,' and then (bearing slightly to the right, *i.e.* almost due west), through more pine-trees, brings one to a small plain, in which is Keklijek-Kahve<sup>2</sup>; we skirted this plain on the northern edge and then, still descending, reached the south-eastern corner of the great upland plain watered by the Tauros (Istánoz Tchái). A *détour* by Yazyr, where Kiepert's large scale map indicates ruins,<sup>3</sup> proved fruitless, and we struck the high-road again close to the enormous mound which rises beside, and gives its name to the village of Euyuk.<sup>4</sup> From here it is but a few minutes to the new iron bridge over the Tauros, and a little over an hour's riding brings one to Istánoz.

<sup>1</sup> At a *Tchiflílik* close to the foot of the hills on the western edge of the valley (ten minutes from the Kahve) is a square tower of regular masonry with drafted angles, standing to the height of two or three courses only, and measuring about ten metres each way. On either side are traces of two parallel lines of wall running N.-S. at the base of the hill.

<sup>2</sup> A few minutes before one reaches the Kahve one sees on the right, a short distance above the road, another square tower, standing to a height of about seven courses, and similar in construction to the others. It has an opening on the side towards the road. This seems to be the building noted by Cousin, *B.C.H.* xxiii. (1900), p. 332, who calls it a tomb. Mr. Ormerod writes (March, 1911) after a second visit, that it is one of a walled line of towers, like that at the E. end of the pass, of which he counted three. We did not see the inscription built in above the entrance, of which he gives an incomplete version (*ibid.*). I hope to obtain a satisfactory copy of it before long. We saw no water in the small lake marked in Kiepert's larger map immediately to the west of 'Gioklidje' (*sic*) Kahve.

<sup>3</sup> Called there *ΙΣΙΟΝΔΑ*? We could neither see nor hear of any ruins here. For the correct site of *Ισι(ο)νδα* see below, § 3 *ad init.* 84.

<sup>4</sup> Called by Kiepert, *ibid.* Eyub. The mound, which we examined subsequently and found to be a prehistoric site, can hardly be all artificial. Cf. p. 90, No. 5.

§ 3.—*Isinda and adjacent Sites.*

The site of Isinda has been fixed by Ramsay at Kyshlár,<sup>1</sup> a village adjoining the picturesque town of Istánoz<sup>2</sup> at the south-western corner of the large plain which is watered by the Tauros (now called Istánoz Tchai). No inscription gives the name of the site, but an interesting, if indirect, confirmation of the correctness of this identification is furnished by an inscription<sup>3</sup> built into the wall of a large Turkish building in the village of Kyshlár. This alludes to an ἀγὼν Κλάριος, which it is natural to connect with the cult of Apollo Klarios which had its centre at Kolophon in Ionia, and points to an Ionian settlement at Isinda, which exactly bears out the claim of the coins of Isinda that it was an Ionian colony.<sup>4</sup> We saw no remains of antiquity of any note beyond the 'ancient cuttings, and a single uninscribed rock-tomb' noted by Spratt and Forbes.<sup>5</sup> Three other inscriptions of little importance from the same site are published below.<sup>6</sup>

We spent in all six days in exploring Isinda and the plain which lies to the north of it and extends in that direction for a distance of about twenty miles. It is divided by a chain of hills running roughly north and south, into two unequal parts, of which the larger, that to the west, is watered towards its northern end by the Andya Tchai and the smaller streams which join it, whereas the eastern part is watered by the Istánoz Tchai, which runs N.N.E, and is joined by the Andya Tchai at the north-eastern corner of the plain. The prehistoric mounds discovered in this plain by ourselves are dealt with more fully below (p. 90), where their positions are indicated on a map. There is little to add with regard to the classical sites in this plain, namely, Andeda, Pogla, Verbe, and Komama, the sites of which were fixed by Ramsay.<sup>7</sup> But Yerten-keui, a village a short

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* x. (1885), p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Called in S.F. i. pp. 242 ff. Stenez. The site at Kyshlár is by them identified as Mandropolis.

<sup>3</sup> Below, No. 4. This was perhaps copied by Spratt and Forbes, but has not been published; they mention the building into which it is built as 'a large well-built Turkish edifice, used as a Khan, and of the same age and style as that at Lagon' (Evdır Khan), i. p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> See *B.M. Cat. Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia*, Introd. pp. xciii. ff.; pp. 225, 226, Nos. 16, 17, and 18.

<sup>5</sup> S.F. i. p. 246.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 3, 5, 6.

<sup>7</sup> Andeda at Andya, *Ath. Mitt.* x. (1885), p. 337; Pogla at Fugla (Foula, Foghla), *ibid.* p. 335 (first suggested by Kiepert); Verbe at Zivint, *ibid.* pp. 338, 339; Komama at Sherif (Shehir, acc. to Ramsay) euyuk, *A.J.A.* iv. (1888), p. 263.

distance to the south of Andya, the site of Andeda, yielded the interesting harvest of inscriptions comprised under Nos. 7-15 below. I suggest there that they represent an ancient site, possibly to be identified with Verbe, which was placed by Ramsay at Zivint, a few miles further east, at a point not far distant from the western foot of the chain of hills spoken of previously as dividing the plain into two. There is, however, also a possibility that if Verbe is correctly placed at Zivint our inscriptions may represent the site of Kodroula,<sup>1</sup> but our evidence for its position is so uncertain that I have little faith in the suggestion.

We copied a few fresh inscriptions at Andya, of which the most interesting gives another instance of the ethnic *Ἀνδηδεῖς*,<sup>2</sup> and records an agonistic victory. In Fugla we saw a fragment of a marble sarcophagus of the 'Sidamara' type, consisting of the remains of two standing figures, one on each side of a spirally-fluted column.<sup>3</sup>

At Komama the Turkish cemetery, in which Ramsay found the inscriptions which enabled him to identify the site, occupies a large mound which is partly, at all events, of artificial construction, and certainly dates from prehistoric times.<sup>4</sup> This was in all probability the acropolis of the classical site, but the only architectural remains visible are not on the mound itself but in the plain to the south-east. These consist of a large rectangular altar of solid masonry, enclosed in a *temenos*-wall, of which the accompanying photograph gives an illustration (Fig. 6). The style of the construction points to the Roman age.<sup>5</sup>

We may conclude our notes relating to this plain with a reference to an unornamented rock-tomb<sup>6</sup> excavated in the hill-side, close to the track which crosses from one part of the plain into the other and not far from the village of Boyuk-Ali-Fakhreddin (about two hours north-east of Istánoz),

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, *C.-B.* i. p. 327, points out that the site of Kodroula is uncertain, but may have lain to the S.W. of Lake Kestel.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.M. Cat. Lycia*, etc., pp. 174, 175.

<sup>3</sup> To left: draped female figure turned half-left: head and r. arm missing; l. arm supported across breast in a fold of the veil which presumably covered the head as well; l. knee bent, weight being entirely on r. leg. To right: draped male figure turned three-quarter-right: left side broken away, and head missing; long chiton reaching to the feet, over which is thrown a mantle which passes round the waist in heavy horizontal folds: r. hand (missing) rested on hip. For sarcophagi of this type see Strzykowski's article, *J.H.S.* xxvii. (1907), pp. 99 ff. and authorities there quoted.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 92, No. 12.

<sup>5</sup> The peribolos-wall measures about 30 yards each way. The altar itself is about 30 feet long and 18 broad, the greater length being N.-S. It stands about 4 feet 6 inches high.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps that seen by Spratt and Forbes. *S.F.* i. pp. 245, 246.



and to another pair of such tombs on the right bank of the Andya Tchai just above the village of that name.

§ 4.—*The Plain of Elmali.*

On June 25th we struck southwards from Istánoz, at first up a narrow stony gorge, and later across well-wooded slopes, to the small bare plain in which lies the village of Samanderé, and thence descended gently to



FIG. 6.—ROMAN ALTAR AND TEMENOS AT KOMAMA.

Gilevgí, which lies at the north-eastern corner of the plain in which we noted the two prehistoric mounds mentioned below (Nos. 13 and 14). The summit of the mountain-spur which projects into the plain to the west of the village is crowned with the ancient fort, of which a plan and photographs are given by Petersen.<sup>1</sup> At the southern extremity of this plain the ground falls away sharply to the level of the large and well-watered plain of Elmali; the town of that name is situated picturesquely

<sup>1</sup> *Reisen in Lykien*, etc., ii. p. 165, and Pl. XXIII.

at the foot of, and on the lower slopes of the precipitous mountain which bounds the plain to the north-west.<sup>1</sup> Our examination of this plain was rewarded only by the discovery of a large prehistoric mound<sup>2</sup> close to the prominent hill called Tchatal Tepeh about two hours to the south-west of Elmalı. A striking group of Lycian rock-tombs in the village of Armoutli near the southern extremity of the plain, has been described already by Benndorf's expedition.<sup>3</sup> In connexion with the mound at Tchatal Tepeh Mr. Ormerod suggests that in antiquity the plain was probably much more water-logged than it is to-day. It must, however, be borne in mind that although it can be traversed in mid-summer in almost all directions, its condition in winter or spring, and particularly when the snows melt on the Ak Dagħ, can be little better than a swamp.

§ 5.—*Lake Karalitis.*

Retracing our steps from Elmalı we turned westwards before reaching Gilevgi, and struck over the hills so as to reach the eastern end of Lake Karalitis. At this season the water in the lake recedes to a small patch at the western end, and the dried up eastern part forms an attractive and healthy '*yaila*' (summer-pasture) for many Turkish families, several of whom migrate here from Adalia every summer.<sup>4</sup> There are numerous remains of antiquity in the shape of column drums and other architectural fragments, in the Turkish cemeteries dotted along the northern shore of the lake-bed. We did not search extensively for inscriptions, knowing that this district had been traversed by Heberdey and Kalinka<sup>5</sup> not very long before, but we copied one (No. 22 below), which seemed from the absence of weathering on the stone, to have been recently unearthed. It had in fact

<sup>1</sup> A good view of Elmalı is given by Benndorf-Petersen, *op. cit.* ii. Pl. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> No. 15 below. This is presumably the mound noticed by Spratt and Forbes: 'a small flat hillock or mound, on which were the foundations of ancient buildings, many loose blocks, and much broken pottery.' There are traces of an apsidal building, of which not more than two courses are preserved above ground, and of a small cistern, both probably of Byzantine date. Besides the prehistoric sherds were many of Roman, and of more recent times, and some fragments of Byzantine carving.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* ii. p. 161; cf. S.F. i. p. 290.

<sup>4</sup> Its height above the sea is about 4250 feet: that the situation is healthy we can endorse from personal experience, as we passed a night there in a shepherd's hut during a heavy rain-storm, without evil effects.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 7 ff.; some had been copied previously by Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien*, ii. pp. 166-167, Nos. 193-203.

been copied by the Austrian Expedition under Benndorf more than twenty years before, but our copy is more complete than theirs;<sup>1</sup> if it was re-copied by Heberdey and Kalinka it has, at all events, not been published by them. Shortly before reaching the cemetery where this stone is, we had examined a prehistoric mound (No. 16) rising on a slight outcrop of rock from the lake-bed close to its northern edge, at a point where the ground is too marshy to be used as a 'yaila.' It yielded typical prehistoric sherds, and is interesting as being, so far as we could see, the only mound of this type in the bed of Lake Karalitis. Proceeding in a north-westerly direction by the village of Manaí we climbed the steep slopes behind that village and reached the lofty plain (4750 feet, in which is the village of Ali-Fakhreddin, near where are the inscribed rock-tombs and sarcophagi which mark the site of Lagbe.<sup>2</sup>

From Ali-Fakhreddin we pushed on to Hassan Pasha without further delay, being anxious to negotiate the difficult track over the Rahat Dagħ<sup>3</sup> before daylight failed, and the next day reached Tefénny, stopping *en route* to examine two mounds in the plain, of which the former yielded a large crop of prehistoric pot-fragments.<sup>4</sup> Time did not permit of our searching Tefénny and the neighbourhood for fresh inscriptions,<sup>5</sup> and we left early the next day for Adji Badem,<sup>6</sup> which lies in the north-western angle of the great plain stretching from Kibyra on the south to the foot of the Kazyk Bel on the north, noting at a distance of about two miles to the south-east of the town a mound No. 19, which yielded a few prehistoric sherds, and represented the 'furthest north' of the primitive sites of this class which we examined. The large tumulus, which is distant some three or four miles to the north-east and gives the neighbouring village its name of

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, p. 166, No. 195.

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* viii (1887), p. 253, No. 34 ('Abu Faradin Yaila'); the ancient name is there given as Lagbon: cf. Ramsay, *A.J.A.* iv, (1888), p. 16, who follows Kiepert and Waddington in identifying this site with Lagon, which is mentioned by Livy in his account of the march of Manlius. 'Polybius may have used the form *Λαγόν* or *Λαγοών* to represent the Pisidian name; and the text of Livy ought to be Lagon. It is also possible that *Λάγβος* or *Λάγβος* is the proper form, and that the text of Livy should read Lagbon.' (Ramsay)

<sup>3</sup> Height of the summit of the pass, 5400 feet.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 93, Nos. 17 and 18.

<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions from Tefénny and district, published since the original *C.I.G.* (Nos. 4366 iv, 1, and 4367), are scattered over many publications, cf. *B.C.H.* ii (1878), pp. 53 ff., 170 ff., 243 ff.; Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, pp. 38 ff.; *B.C.H.* xvi, (1892), pp. 418, 419; Ramsay, *C.-B.* i, pp. 304 ff. 'Inscriptions of the Killanian plain.'

<sup>6</sup> Adji Badem = 'bitter almond tree,' Ramsay, *A.J.A.* iii, p. 362, Note 45. There seems some uncertainty as to the correct spelling: it appears sometimes as Hadji Patim.

Kara-Euyuk-Bazar, is in all probability likewise of prehistoric origin. Its existence has long been known,<sup>1</sup> and we did not think it deserved a visit, since firstly, we had located another prehistoric mound close to, and secondly we did not wish to lengthen further, by this *détour*, the long day's ride from Adji Badem over the Kazyk Bel to Denizli, where we arrived on July 3rd. The next day we spent in seeing Hierapolis, and the following evening were once again in Smyrna.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, *loc. cit.*; Murray's *Guide Book to Asia Minor*, p. 120.

## PART II.—PREHISTORIC REMAINS.<sup>1</sup>

(PLATE VII.)

### *The Sites and their Distribution.*

The figurine published by Professor Myres<sup>2</sup> from Adalia first drew attention to prehistoric remains in this part of Asia Minor. In 1909 Messrs. Hasluck and Woodward obtained two figurines of rather different type at Adalia, which were published by Mr. Peet.<sup>3</sup> They were reported to have come from a mound at Tchai-kenar, some twelve hours to the north-west of Adalia. The fact that the figurines were said to have been found at a depth of two metres, offered considerable possibilities, when Mr. Woodward and I, in company with Mr. Nikolas Michael Ferteklis of Adalia, visited the site in June, 1910.

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mr. H. R. Hall of the British Museum for various suggestions in the writing of this paper, also the Rev. G. B. Cronshaw of Queen's College, Oxford, who very kindly undertook the chemical analysis of some of the pottery. The Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum allowed me to have the photographs illustrating this part of the paper (Pl. VII) taken at the Museum. Above all, I would acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J. L. Myres for many points suggested by his articles in the *Anthropological Journal*, and for much advice given in the writing of the paper. I trust that I have stated his views correctly, more particularly those concerning the black- and red-faced technique in the pottery.

The sketch-map of the Istânoç Plain was drawn for me by Mr. H. H. Jewell. (Fig. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> *J.A.L.* xxx, p. 253

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, II, p. 146, and Pls. XXVI and XXVII.

The village of Tchai-kenar is situated about nine miles to the north-east of the small town of Istánoz, in the south-west of Pisidia. Istánoz lies at the southern end of an alluvial plain, about eighteen miles long and ten broad, divided by a low range of hills. The eastern half is drained by the Istánoz Tchai, the ancient Tauros, the western part by the Andya Tchai, which joins the other river in the north-eastern corner of the plain. The ground immediately to the north of Istánoz is broken and hilly, but with this exception the plain is remarkably flat. Apart from a small flint knife picked up in the hills near Böyük-Ali-Fakhreddin, we found prehistoric remains only in the plain. The mounds, which resemble the Thessalian *Magoúlas*, and are locally called *Euyuk*, may frequently be recognised at a distance, but in no case have we described a mound as prehistoric unless sherds of definitely early date were found on it. In many cases examination was somewhat difficult owing to standing corn, but where the site had been newly ploughed, as near Fugla, a large quantity of potsherds were frequently to be obtained. The plain of Istánoz, in which are the classical sites of Komama, Pogla, Andeda, Verbe, Isinda and another not identified, at Yerten, would seem to have been thickly populated in prehistoric times also. The absence of any site in the part immediately to the north of Tchai-kenar is probably due to the presence of the marsh, which may have been more extensive. In the Istánoz plain we found in all, twelve prehistoric sites, all characterised by a species of hand-made pottery described below. These sites are:—

*a.* In the eastern half of the plain:—

1. Tchai-kenar, Site I.; on the left bank of the stream (see below).
2. Tchai-kenar, Site II.; a large flat-topped mound, an hour to the south-west of the village of Tchai-kenar.
3. Garkyn; a small conical mound, much overgrown, twenty minutes to the south of the village.
4. Bayut; a mound close to the village, but on the right bank of the stream. On the top are a few worked blocks and later sherds of Roman date; the mound itself was originally a prehistoric settlement.
5. Euyuk-keui, on the right bank of the stream<sup>1</sup>; a mound over 100 feet high, and steep towards the river. From this point it is an hour-and-a-half to Istánoz.

<sup>1</sup> Kiepert and Lanckoróński (*Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*) place the village too far west.

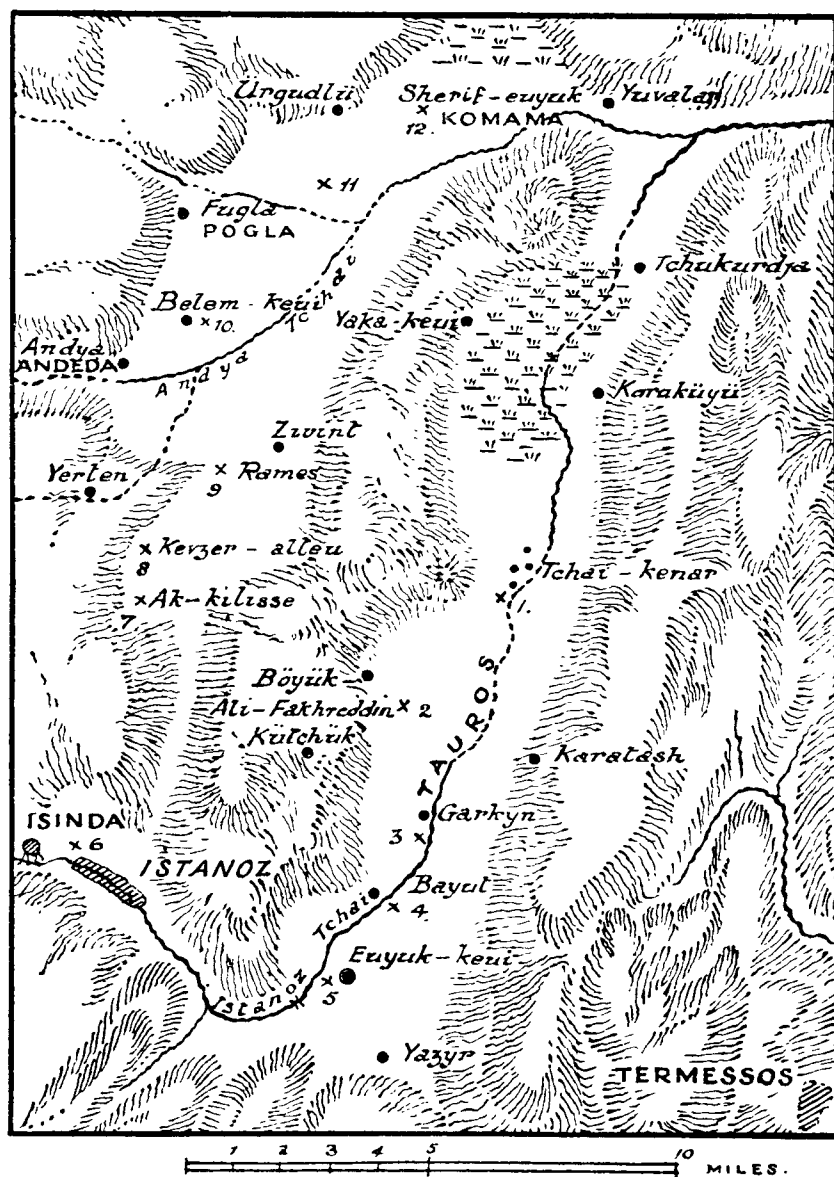


FIG. 7.—MAP OF THE İSTANOZ PLAIN SHOWING PREHISTORIC SITES.

In the western half of the plain :—

6. At Kyshlár (a 'suburb' of Istánoz); a large flat-topped mound overgrown with corn.

7. Ak-kilisse; an hour-and-a-half to the north of Istánoz.

8. Kevzer-alteu-euyuk, an hour to the north of Ak-kilisse. On the top is a rectangular enclosure built of megalithic blocks of coarse undressed conglomerate (see below).

9. Rámes, a large high mound about half an hour to the south-west of Zivint, on one side thickly grown with corn. A few pieces of obsidian were found.

10. Belem-keui; to the east of the village is a free-standing hillock, the lower part of which is perhaps natural, with a settlement above.

11. A large mound, one hour to the east of Fugla, which had been recently ploughed and yielded a large quantity of early sherds, both plain and painted.

12. Shehir- or Sherif-euyuk, the site of the ancient Komama, about half an hour to the east of Ürgüdlü. On the top is a Turkish cemetery with various inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> There is a large amount of Roman pottery and glass, but at the foot of the mound we found prehistoric sherds.

Many of these mounds (*e.g.* Komama) yielded Hellenistic, Roman, or Byzantine sherds, proving that they were inhabited until a late period. In the discussion of the pottery below I have confined myself to the Bronze-Age and Early Iron-Age fabrics.

*b.* In the plains of Elmalí, in northern Lycia, we discovered three sites, two on the higher level to the north-east, and a third at the foot of the low hills which divide the lower part of the Elmalí plain.

13. A mound by the village of Gilevgi, situated at the mouth of the pass leading to Istánoz, which is distant about six hours to the north-east.

14. A large flat mound overgrown with corn and weed, about forty minutes to the south of Gilevgi. From this point it is about three hours to Elmalí.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 85.

The southern end of this part of the plain is marshy, and afterwards falls away over broken ground to the lower level of Elmalí.

The wide, open plain of Elmalí proper contains only one prehistoric site. In view of the large number in the Istánoz plain, this calls for some explanation. The plain at the present day is inclined to be marshy and contains much subterranean water. Everywhere in the plain, and more particularly in the south-western corner, we noticed the existence of numerous wells beside the road, of an average depth of fifteen feet. The plain is drained in the southern part by a broad, sluggish stream, which falls into the Avlan Giölü by Podalia, in the northern part by a stream which finds its only outlet in a swallow-hole (marked "Düden" on Kiepert's map). The position of the only prehistoric site is significant, being situated at the foot of the hills which divide the plain. We may therefore fairly conclude that at an earlier date the greater part of the plain was uninhabitable owing to the wider extent of the marsh. The higher ground at the foot of Tchatal Tepeh was alone occupied, possibly because on it converge the two roads leading into the Xanthos valley on either side of the Ak Dagh, the ancient Massikytos.<sup>1</sup>

15. Tchatal Tepeh, a large high mound two hours from Elmalí. It is apparently that which is mentioned by Spratt and Forbes,<sup>2</sup> and seems to have been occupied from prehistoric times onwards.

c. On Lake Karalitis, the modern Sügut-Giölü, we found one site:—

16. A solitary mound, at an altitude of 4250 feet above sea-level, to the north of the village of Mahmudlar. The ground is marshy all round, and the base of the hillock is of natural rock. It seems to stand on the dried-up lake-bed and probably at one time was surrounded by water.

d. In the plain of Tefénny, the ancient Ormeleis, to the north-west of Istánoz, we examined two mounds:—

17. Hassan Pasha, in the south of the plain, at the foot of the high pass leading over the Rahat Dagh to Lake Karalitis. A large mound stands about a quarter of a mile to the north of the village. It had been recently ploughed and yielded a fair amount of painted pottery.

18. Euyuk; a mound beside the village, which lies between Hassan Pasha and Tefénny.

<sup>1</sup> Spratt and Forbes, *Travels in Lycia*, i. p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* i. p. 288; see above, p. 87, note 2.



To the north-east of Tefénny we saw a similar mound some way distant across the plain in the direction of Buldur. There are probably others in the neighbourhood.

*c.* A mound has been known for some time at Kara-Euyuk-Bazar, the ancient Themisonium, at the northern end of a plain which reaches southwards to Kibyra (Khorzum). We were unable to visit this mound, but examined another in the neighbourhood:—

19. To the east of Adji Badem (S.W. of Themisonium).

We saw two other mounds in the neighbourhood, but could not reach them.

*The Mound at Tchai-kenar.*

The civilisation represented by these early settlements, so far as can be ascertained without excavation, is of a uniform character. The painted ware of Fugla in the Istánóz plain is closely paralled by that from the sites near Tefénny, and on all sites, as I have said, we found traces of a similar red-faced, hand-made pottery.

The mound at Tchai-kenar, Fig. 8, which may be taken as a typical example, had been partially excavated on the north side for brick-earth, and we obtained a rough section of over eight metres. In it were exposed three burnt floor levels:—

- |           |               |         |
|-----------|---------------|---------|
| <i>A.</i> | At a depth of | 3'30 m. |
| <i>B.</i> | „ „ „         | 7'00 m. |
| <i>C.</i> | „ „ „         | 8'20 m. |

There was a large amount of the earlier hand-made pottery lying at the foot of the cutting, but it was unfortunate that we were unable to discover sherds *in situ*, so as to obtain stratigraphical evidence for the date of the pottery. The only note of this kind we were able to make was of the discovery of a piece of the red-faced ware ("A 2") immediately below *B*. Further, on level *B* were remains of a large jar containing burnt seed resembling lentils, of which we brought away a sample.

The excellence of the material of this mound for brick-making is doubtless, as Professor Myres points out, due to its consisting mainly of decomposed bricks from the successive settlements.<sup>1</sup> We would emphasize

<sup>1</sup> A celt seen by us in the bazaar at Elmalı was said to have been found in a modern house-wall, the earth for the bricks having probably been brought from a similar mound. The owner would not part with the celt, which was the only one we saw.

the fact of the burnt floor-levels at Tchai-kenar in view of Korte's explanation of the mound, called Boz-Euyuk (Ujuk) near Eskishehir in Phrygia.<sup>1</sup> When the earth was removed by the railway company, Korte observed burnt layers as at Tchai-kenar. He regards the mound however, as artificially created at a given time as a grave tumulus, and the burnt layers with earth between, as evidence of funeral feasts held on the spot. He does not however realise the difficulty caused by the finding of weapons of pure copper and also of iron,<sup>2</sup> and does not allow for the corresponding



FIG. 8.—NORTHERN HALF OF THE MOUND AT TCHAI-KENAR, SHOWING A MODERN CUTTING : ABOVE, TURKISH TOMBSTONES.

development of culture during a long process of accumulation on the mound.

We saw no sign of house-walls of stone in the section exposed at Tchai-kenar, but on other mounds we frequently observed heaps of small stones, possibly from the tops of stone walls below the surface disturbed by the plough.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> It is noticeable that these stone-heaps are not a feature of the ploughed lands in the plain itself.

*The Pottery.**A.—Unpainted Wares.*

The best series of unpainted pottery was obtained from Tchai-kenar, and is supplemented by the finds from other sites. As a whole this pottery must be assigned to the Bronze Age, although it contains pieces which probably belong to a somewhat earlier date. In attempting a classification, we are at once confronted with the problem of the nature of the black-faced and red-faced techniques in the early pottery of Asia Minor.

The earlier views and experiments with regard to the Hissarlik pottery are given by Schliemann.<sup>1</sup> According to one view the penetration of the walls of the pot by the smoke of the open fire was enough to account for the black surface, which was afterwards hand-polished.<sup>2</sup> The alternative theory was that this process was not sufficient to account for the lustrous black surface, but that the vases were dipped in or coated with 'pine-soot' or melted pine resin, before the second firing, the resinous or vegetable substance being thus carbonised in the clay. Doulton's experiments showed that lustrous black fragments from Hissarlik when submitted to a red heat, turn yellow; those submitted to a white heat take a brick-red colour.

Professor Flinders Petrie, in discussing the 'black-topped' pottery of predynastic Egypt,<sup>3</sup> points out the exact agreement of this pottery and its facing with the contemporary red-ware. The surface of both is covered with haematite or ferric peroxide and highly burnished. The difference in the 'black-topped' pottery is due to the firing. The 'black-topped' vases were stacked mouth downwards in the kiln and the lower part covered with

<sup>1</sup> *Ilios*, p. 219; *Troja*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> We may compare the experiments of M. P. Marguerite de la Charlonie on fragments of Hellenic pottery (*Revue des Études Grecques*, xx. p. 232, cf. Myres, *Year's Work in Class. Studies*, 1908, p. 42). When the fragments were exposed to a wood fire it was found that the blackening caused by the smoke, which at first affected the surface only, spread gradually through the clay. On the temperature being raised the blackness again disappeared, as in Doulton's experiment (*Troja*, p. 33). As will be seen below, when a glaze is not used, a black-faced or red-faced result probably depends on the regulation of temperature in firing, a high temperature burning all carbonaceous matter out of the clay. M. de la Charlonie's experiment shows that a blackness can be again produced by smoking the pot, after it has been fired, over a slow fire. This process, however, as Myres points out (*op. cit.* p. 43), needs very careful regulation; the colour moreover tends to be grey rather than black.

<sup>3</sup> *Nagada and Ballas*, pp. 36-7; *Diospolis Parva*, p. 13.

ashes. Where the vase was exposed to a draught of air the red peroxide of iron was preserved, but so far as the ashes and charcoal covered the vase, they deoxidised the iron from red peroxide to black 'magnetic' (ferrous) oxide.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Myres in his discussion of the early pot-fabrics of Asia Minor<sup>2</sup> quotes a modern instance of a primitive potter from Borneo definitely blackening his pots with a vegetable fluid which carbonises in the clay.<sup>3</sup> He points out that while in the case of the 'red-and-black' Egyptian or Cypriote wares it is possible to transmute black to red and red again to black by the action of fire, in the case of the Hellespontine wares the second experiment fails, the black (being carbonaceous and not due to ferrous oxide) having been burnt right out of the clay. Further, only in cases where the clay is very ferruginous does any great redness supervene in Doulton's experiment, the majority of sherds turning pink, yellow, or pale red.

From the results of the above experiments it is clear that we must carefully distinguish those fabrics which show signs of having been treated with a slip compounded of ferric peroxide, which it is possible to change from red to black at will, from vases not so treated, where the black colour depends upon the amount of carbonaceous matter left in the clay after firing, that is, upon the temperature of the fire. It is possible however, in the latter case to reproduce the black either by smoking the pot over a slow fire or by a process of anointing.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence afforded by the fragments from Tchai-kenar and kindred sites supports the above view. Among the unpainted pottery from these sites we may distinguish three varieties:—

A. 1. A finely burnished black ware, the black of which goes right through the clay.

<sup>1</sup> As he says, the remarkable mirror-like brilliancy of the black part of the surface would be assisted by the presence of small amounts of carbonyl resulting from imperfect combustion. Korte, *op. cit.* p. 24, states that some of these vases in the Bonn Museum are touched with graphite.

<sup>2</sup> *J.A.I.* xxxiii. pp. 369 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon.* 1901, p. 99, where the locality is wrongly given as Torres Strait; cf. *J.A.I. loc. cit.* An interesting case is recorded among the Malays (L. Wray, *The Malayan Pottery of Perak*, *J.A.I.* xxxiii. p. 28). The clay of these pots, which after firing is of a light red colour, is blackened by burying the pot, while still hot from the kiln, in a mass of 'padi husk.' We clearly have here a method of recalling the black colour after firing, alternative to the smoking process described above (p. 96, note 2).

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 96.

A. 2. A ware with red glaze, the clay of most pieces being buff with a black core.

A. 3. A ware of similar clay to No. 2, but with a black glaze.<sup>1</sup>

The Revd. G. B. Cronshaw, of Queen's College, Oxford, very kindly made a chemical analysis of specimens of all these varieties and on the results obtained by him the following conclusions are based.

1. The black-polished ware, the clay of which is of a uniform dead blackness, turns buff when submitted to a red heat. The high polish of the surface is due to burnishing only. The clay is very carbonaceous, being perhaps taken from a lignite bed or peat bog, or more probably being mixed with ash to give consistency. The temperature at which this ware was baked cannot have been very high.

2. The clay of the red ware is similar; it contains iron and quartz and was mixed with chopped straw in the kneading. The central black core contains carbon; the buff colour of the surface of the clay is caused by a higher temperature than that to which the black-polished ware was submitted. The heat however was not sufficient in most cases to penetrate right through the clay, but left a central carbonaceous core. This seems more probable than the explanation of the early red ware of Hissarlik proposed in *Troja und Ilion*.<sup>2</sup> It is there suggested that the buff or red surfaces of the clay with a grey core, are produced by contact with the slip, the clay absorbing some of the colouring matter; but on our potsherds we find a buff surface on both sides, even when one face only is covered with red colouring matter.

This colouring matter takes the form of a red glaze of ferric peroxide put on as a slip, and fired at a high temperature and with a good draught. It is sometimes, as we have seen, applied only to the exterior of the vase, the inside in such cases being merely hand-burnished (in the case of open bowls), or left plain. The red glaze, Mr. Cronshaw thinks, may sometimes have been compounded with oil to heighten the gloss, but many of the pots show signs of polishing after firing.

A few pieces of the red ware are better fired, so that the clay has

<sup>1</sup> We ought perhaps to include a fourth variety, which appeared in small quantities but is of later date—a grey polished monochrome ware, parallel in form and fabric to the sub-Mycenaean wares of Hissarlik vii.

<sup>2</sup> *l. c.* p. 246.

burnt right through to a buff colour. One of these pieces has no true glaze but has been merely polished with haematite.<sup>1</sup>

3. The clay of the ware with black glaze is in all respects similar to that of the red ware. It has a central black core turning buff on the surface. Chemical tests show that this glaze, which is a lustrous black, does not contain carbon, but iron only. According to Mr. Cronshaw, this colour could be obtained only by baking the pot in a muffle or closed kiln to which there was no admission of air. The pot would have to be cooled completely inside the muffle after the fire had died out.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting to note that at Tchai-kenar, in a separate smaller cutting to the north-east, we saw in section a beehive-shaped object of clay which was probably such a muffle.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Myres<sup>4</sup> connects the advance of the red ware in Asia Minor with the first knowledge of copper, both depending, for Asia Minor at least,<sup>5</sup> on Cyprus. The red ware appears at Hissarlik in small quantities in the lowest (chalcolithic) stratum.<sup>6</sup> In the second city there are larger quantities, with an increasing prevalence in the succeeding strata, although the manufacture of the black-faced ware never completely disappeared. It seems therefore, right to assign its first appearance at Tchai-kenar to the beginning of the Bronze Age, where it would seem to be of local manufacture, but definitely imitating by its red glaze the red-faced wares of Cyprus. Both Dr. Mackenzie and Professor Myres have suggested independently, that the black-polished ware (A. 1) is an earlier fabric than the red ware, and this is borne out by the results I have described above, the black-polished ware being clearly of a date when so high a temperature as is attested by the red ware was not to be obtained. The use of the muffle or closed kiln in the case of the black-glazed ware (A. 3.) probably again postulates an advance on the earliest of the red

<sup>1</sup> The object illustrated, Pl. VII, No 19, which resembles a small unbored hammer-head, was obtained by us in the bazaar at Elmalı. It is of pure haematite, and if used as a burnisher on the damp surface of the pot would give the effect described above.

<sup>2</sup> It is probable that the mottled black and red surface of some of the pots from Boz-Euyuk (Korte, *op. cit.* p. 24) was intentionally caused by withdrawing them from the kiln or muffle before they had completely cooled. For the mottled ware from Vasiliki in Crete and other parallels, see Seager (*ap.* Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, p. 50.).

<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately there was no evidence in the cutting to show to which stratum the object belonged.

<sup>4</sup> *J.A.I.* xxx, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> *J.A.I.* xxvii, p. 171.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Schmidt in *Troja und Ilion*, i, p. 246.

ware. The absence of the wheel in this Bronze Age pottery is paralleled in the Bronze Age civilisation of Cyprus.<sup>1</sup>

The fragmentary condition of most of this pottery does not permit much to be said about form. The commonest shape seems to be that of wide open bowls, together with which were found fragments of large pithoi. There is no trace of a foot on any of the pottery of this period, the base being merely flattened. Incised patterns are rare, and consist only of rude scorings, thus forming a contrast to the clay figurines from Tchai-kenar, which have a highly elaborate ornamentation. The wide open dairy-bowls, with or without handles, the occurrence of burnt seed and the remains of a saddle-quern at Tchai-kenar, and the general nature of the Istánóz plain suggest a pastoral and agricultural people, as is the case with the Bronze Age settlements of Cyprus.<sup>2</sup>

#### B.—*Painted Wares.*

The painted pottery illustrated on Plate VII was almost all obtained from the mound near Fugla.<sup>3</sup> The parallel specimens obtained from other sites were as a rule, not so good. The mound near Fugla, in addition to the recent ploughing, seems to have suffered some amount of denudation, which accounts for the large number of both painted and unpainted sherds on the surface. The types of painted pottery and schemes of ornament call for a brief discussion. We may note at once that it is all wheel-made.

I. The commonest type is that illustrated on Plate VII, Nos. 1–5, the 'red Cypriote' ware of the Early Iron Age. It is common on many of the Cappadocian and Galatian sites.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Anderson describes, on sherds from Turkhal in Galatia, concentric circles in brown or purple matt paint on a red or buff ground, and triangular hatchwork in purple on a red ground.<sup>5</sup> The hatched triangles of No. 1 appear on a sherd from Boghaz-Keui in the Ashmolean Museum. The frequent use of concentric circles (No. 4) is, as Professor Myres points out, a commonplace of sub-Mycenaean ceramic from Hissarlik, through the Aegean to Cyprus.

<sup>1</sup> Myres, *Cat. Cypri. Museum*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Nos. 7 from Karalitís, and 15 from Hassan Pasha.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Crowfoot, *J.H.S.* xix. pp. 34 ff. § 2; Anderson, *Studia Pontica*, i. p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Welch, *ap.* Myres, *J.A.L.* xxviii. p. 379, who describes this ware as of Geometric Cypriote type. It appears also in Hissarlik viii. (*Troja und Ilion*, i. p. 309)

The ornament on No. 3 is closely paralleled by a Cappadocian sherd from Kara-Euyuk.<sup>1</sup> I do not know of any exact parallel to the main ornament of No. 2, but the careless step-pattern below the rim is a common sub-Geometric ornament in the Aegean,<sup>2</sup> where it appears to be a degeneration of the maeander. This ornament is particularly common on the pottery of this area.<sup>3</sup>

Fragments of this type (*e.g.* No. 5) sometimes show a broad band of red paint edged with black, a characteristic, according to Professor Myres,<sup>4</sup> of Cappadocian ceramic. The pattern on the piece in question, the 'concentric question-marks,' is a typical Cypriote pattern.<sup>5</sup>

II. A ware of similar reddish clay but more finely worked and covered with a thin glaze of ferric peroxide before the second firing (Plate VII, Nos. 6, 7, 9). The designs are in a bluish-grey paint, occurring occasionally on both faces. This ware is the most widely distributed on the present sites, occurring at Tchai-kenar (Sites I. and II.), Garkyn, Fugla, Karalit, Hassan Pasha, and Adji Badem. The Ashmolean has sherds of a similar character from the 'Midas-City.' Professor Myres explains the design of No. 6 as a degenerate form of the Mycenaean iris; it is the only design which has any approach to naturalism. We may note the common appearance of the step-pattern on this ware.

No. 8 is of similar ware but without the red glaze. Mr. Forsdyke of the British Museum, pointed out to me the exact agreement of the design with that on the neck of a post-Geometric fragment from Ephesus, in the British Museum.<sup>6</sup>

III. The wide, open bowls (Pl. VII, Nos. 11, 12) are of pinkish, finely-worked clay with polished slip. The paint is a silvery grey with broad

<sup>1</sup> Chantre, *Mission en Cappadoce*, Pl. XII. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* on the Burgon lebes.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* Pl. VII, Nos. 2, 6, 7, and on other pieces not illustrated. It is interesting to note its appearance at Moussian (Gautier et Lampre, *Délégation en Perse*, vii. Fig. 165), where it does not appear to have the maeander as a prototype.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 390.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Myres gives me the following note: 'In relief, for hair of terracottas, seventh century, Cyprus; in paint, Cyprus, eighth and seventh century, especially at Tamassos.' The design occurs also on a sherd from Gordion (Korte, *Gordion*, p. 178. Fig. 160, No. 2). Korte compares a 'Cypriote' sherd from Hissarlik (*Schliemann-Sammlung*, 3482), and an amphora from Caere (Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, Pl. XXIX D. 18).

<sup>6</sup> *B.M. Excavations at Ephesus*, p. 219, Fig. 45, No. 10 = p. 223, Fig. 49 (<sup>2</sup> *Local Ephesus fabric*).



bands of crimson (No. 12) or orange (No. 11). As for their decoration, as Professor Myres points out,<sup>1</sup> the use of single broad bands with systems of numerous narrow bands, may be taken as a characteristic of all fabrics which have undergone a Mycenae influence to any considerable degree. The common wavy line (Nos. 10 and 11) edged by two straight lines, occurs on a vase from Idrias-Stratonikeia in Caria,<sup>2</sup> and finds parallels also at Mycenae.<sup>3</sup>

IV. A ware of gritty buff clay, illustrated by three fragments from Fugla (e.g. No. 16) and one from Hassan Pasha (No. 15). It has a fine slip of the colour of the clay, usually polished. The 'basket-pattern' of the design occurs in Cyprus.<sup>4</sup> The panelled arrangement of No. 16 may be compared with a hand-made fragment from Boghaz-Keui, in the Ashmolean Museum,<sup>5</sup> where the panels contain figures of water-birds. Mr. H. R. Hall compares the common decoration of the Moussian and Susa pottery.<sup>6</sup>

V. The fragment illustrated on Pl. VII. No. 13 is perhaps of rather earlier date than the rest. It is of somewhat coarse clay, with brownish paint on a creamy white slip. The design is fragmentary, but its nearest parallel is to be found in Palestine.<sup>7</sup>

The above analysis would lead us to assign the whole of this pottery

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 385, with reference to the similar Cappadocian bowls.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, v. p. 328, Fig. 232 = Winter, *Ath. Mitt.* vii. p. 226, Fig. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Furtwängler-Loscheke, *Myk. Thongef.* iv. 3. 17. ; *Myk. Vasen*, xxiii. 168.

<sup>4</sup> *Cypr. Mus. Cat.* p. 48. No. 328, on the 'white ware' (*Fabra*, ii. 1, p. 38).

<sup>5</sup> Myres, *op. cit.* Fig. 10, p. 385.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Délégation en Perse*, vii. p. 142. The early date assigned by the excavators is not universally accepted (see Hall in *Proceedings of Society of Bibl. Archaeology*, xxi. p. 311). The comparison cannot be pressed in view of the distance. We have yet to learn the full extent and importance of the wide Geometric areas recently revealed in Western Asia, at Anau in Turkestan, and Northern Persia. Their influence seems to have been felt by the Geometric Cappadocian fabrics and even in Cyprus and on the Syrian coast (cf. Hall, *op. cit.* who develops certain suggestions made by Professor Myres, *J.A.L.* xxviii.). Mrs. Boyd-Hawes (*Gournia*, p. 33) claims a connection between Anau and early Minoan Crete, based on a trade in tin with Khorassan. The spreading across Asia Minor of decorative influences foreign to the Aegean, might perhaps be due to the trade in obsidian. The fragments of obsidian which we found at Rames have been examined by Professor Myres, who pronounces them definitely to be not of Melian origin. The source of the obsidian found on the Black Sea littoral and in Northern Assyria, as is suggested by Professor Bosanquet (*Phylakopi*, p. 229), is probably the Caucasus and Russian Armenia, as is also the case with that found in *Culture III* at Anau in Turkestan (cf. Schmidt in Pumpelly, *Prehistoric Civilisations of Anau, South Kurgan*, i. p. 151). Further evidence however is needed from these and other sites.

<sup>7</sup> Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, 41, No. 149, belonging to the 'later pre-Israelite period.'

to the Early Iron Age, although some of the schemes of ornament are descended from the ceramics of an earlier date.

The strongest influence to be observed is that of Cyprus, and next perhaps in importance, a survival of Mycenaean tradition in a degenerate form, while certain schemes of ornament point to a non-Aegean original, perhaps ultimately to be derived from the Geometric areas of Western Asia, working in this case through Cappadocia.

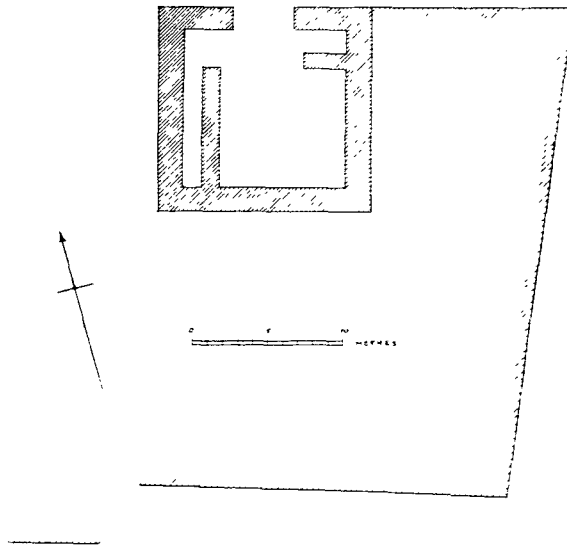


FIG. 9.—PLAN OF THE MEGALITHIC HOUSE AT KEVZER-ALTU-EUYUK.  
(Scale 2 : 5)

*The Megalithic House at Kevzer-altu-euyuk (Figs. 9, 10.)*

To the Early Iron Age we would also assign the house of megalithic construction discovered on the mound Kevzer-altu-euyuk. The walls, at the best preserved point, are not more than two courses high; of the enclosure wall only the outer face can be traced. The narrow passage<sup>1</sup> at the western end of the house may once have contained a staircase, implying an upper storey. There seems to have been a tower or outwork at the south-western corner of the enclosure, probably guarding

<sup>1</sup> The ground-plan of a watch-tower at Sigi in Lesbos as published by Koldewey (*Die antiken Bauwerke der Insel Lesbos*, Pl. XXVII, 1, and cf. p. 62) shows a similar arrangement of interior walls.

the entrance; the wall however, is much destroyed at this point. The wide gap in the northern wall of the house seems to be the entrance, but this leaves the house unconnected with the courtyard, unless all that remains of the house-walls within the court is foundation, the covering earth having been washed down. The mound on which the house stands is covered with large fallen blocks.

*Figurines.*

We found in 1910, on the mound at Fugla, the torso of a small clay figurine, of the type published by Mr. Peet from Tchai-kenar.<sup>1</sup> Except



FIG. 10.—N.E. ANGLE OF THE HOUSE AT KEVZER-ALTEU-EUYUK.

that it has not the punctured bands across the breast and is somewhat thicker, it resembles the smaller of the two published (the so-called male), being without breasts and having no incisions on the back. The width across the chest is exactly the same in both cases (41 mm.), and the close agreement points to the fact that we have to deal with a fixed type. Long exposure on the mound would account for the loss of the burnished surface, and the absence of white filling is easily explained by the width of the

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*, ii, p. 146, Pl. XXVII.

incisions, the white filling having largely disappeared on the other examples. Mr. Peet assigns the figures to a neolithic date ; possibly, by comparison with the pottery, we ought to attribute the firmly-baked, brownish clay to the Bronze Age.

We obtained in Adalia two new figurines (Pl. VII, Nos. 18, 19) for the type of which there seems to be no exact parallel. They are said to have come from a mound at Kutcherdiler-yaila.<sup>1</sup> They are of a coarse-grained white marble, quite flat on both sides. The heads of both are unfortunately missing, as are also the lower limbs of the smaller example. We may note the rounded shoulders, and the sharp angle formed at the elbows, the arms of the larger figure (No. 19) being apparently held to the breast. For this reason we may perhaps consider that a female is represented by both figures, although the sex-mark appears only on the smaller example (No. 18). The most curious feature is the single foot of the larger figure, which gives the impression that the legs are swathed.

As to the makers of these objects and the limits of the civilisation described above, it is impossible to speak with any certainty at the present time. The discovery of an early civilisation in the *Hinterland* of Lycia may eventually prove to have a direct bearing on the question of the ethnology of early Lycia. The influence of Cyprus on the pottery is important in view of the close trade relations (probably overland) between Cyprus and the Troad, while the relations suggested between Cappadocia and south-western Asia Minor need further evidence for their support. A journey which I hope to undertake in the course of this year may throw further light on these questions.

H. A. ORMEROD.

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### PART III.—INSCRIPTIONS.

I. At Ouzoun-Gouyon-Kahve on the road from Adalia to Istánoz, a few minutes west of Evdir Khan.<sup>2</sup> Block of coarse brownish marble with white veins, built into the arched entrance to the cistern beside the

<sup>1</sup> About two hours from Kosagatch, on Lake Karalitis.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 78, note 2.

Kahve.<sup>1</sup> Dimensions '33 × '58 × '31. Letters '025 — '03 high. Complete except on left.

*C.I.G.* 4341 *ε*. *C* is apparently, a bad copy by Schonborn, of l. 1 only.

Rott-Weber, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, etc.*, p. 364, No. 59.<sup>2</sup>

ΡΟΚΟΝΔΟΥΑΚΤΕΟΥΣΧΡΥΣΟΧΟΝ  
 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥΤΗΝΓΥ  
 ΡΜΑΙΟΣΚΑΙΑΡ[ ]ΑΣΤΑΟΙΑΠΕΛΕΥ  
 Τ ΕΣΤΙ [ ] : ΎΕΡΓΕΣΗΙΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ

[ - - - Τ ] ροκόνδου Ἀκτέους χρυσοχόν,  
 [ καὶ - - - ] Ἡρακλείδου Διοδότου τὴν γυ-  
 [ ναῖκα Ἐ ] ρμαῖος καὶ Ἀρ[ μ ]άστα οἱ ἀπέλευ-  
 [ θερωθέν ] τες τ[ ῆς ? . . ] εὐεργεσίας ἔνεκεν.

Presumably about seven letters are lost on the left, judging by l. 4, though in this line they are slightly larger than in the preceding lines. Hence we should perhaps insert τοῦ after γυ|[ναῖκα] in l. 3: there can hardly be room for αὐτοῦ.

This is clearly a dedication by two manumitted slaves to their master and mistress, and is of no particular interest. Χρυσοχόν must be for χρυσοχόον, the master's profession. I have no solution to offer for the missing letters in the middle of the last line, unless we suppose that owing to a flaw in the stone two spaces were left vacant, in which case τ[ῆς] will be certainly correct. The letter after the Τ was | - | or I (note that the cross bar of the *eta* does not touch the verticals), and the next letter or next but one, had an oblique stroke. The other marks indicated on the squeeze here may be accidental.

The names of the lady's family are Greek, in contrast to the local character of those of her husband's family. For the common name Τροκόνδας see No. 3 below. Ἀκτέους is no doubt from Ἀκτης which may


<sup>1</sup> A previous traveller, E. J. Davis, who passed by here in 1872, alludes to this cistern, but failed to notice the inscription built in, *Anatolia*, p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Weber, who publishes the inscription from an inadequate copy by Rott, treats it as incomplete on the right, and lacking only one letter on the left, except in l. 4: this is certainly incorrect, and leads him to a different restoration in ll. 3 and 4: οἱ ἀπελεύ[θεροι] ἄρετ[ῆς] καὶ εὐ[ε]ργεσίας ἔνεκεν.

be compared with (unless it be a mistake of the engraver for) Ἀττης, though I know no other example.

Ἑρμαῖος is particularly common in this district,<sup>1</sup> and Ἀρμάστα is also frequently found.<sup>2</sup>

2. On a sarcophagus standing by the road-side, a few minutes from Ouzoun-Gouyou-Kahve in the direction of Adalia. The side on which the inscription is cut is broken in halves, the left-hand portion remaining *in situ*, and the right-hand portion being split into small fragments. We failed to find the lower right-hand corner of the panel.<sup>3</sup> Letters 0.35 high. To the left of the inscription is a thick curved stick in low relief, clearly the *καλαῦροψ* alluded to in ll. 1 and 5.<sup>4</sup>



ΕΙΒΟΥΛΕΙΓΝΩΝΕΙΠΩΣΚΗΡΕ ΙΚΑΙΤΙΚΑΛΑΥΡΟΥ  
 ΕΝΘΑΔΕΝΤΕΤΥΠΑΣΤΕΣΤΗΟΥΡΛΕΚΑΙΤΑΔΕΓΝΩΣΗ  
 ΤΟΣΚΗΠΤΡΟΝΕΡΜΟΥΠΡΟΚΛΟ ΟΥΕΣΤΙΠΟΡΕΙΟΝ  
 ΤΟΥΤΟΓΑΡΚΑΤΑΓΕΙΨΥΧΑΣΜΕΡΟΠΩΝΥΠΟΓΑΙΑΝ  
 ΟΥΤΟΣΔΕΣΤΟΚΑΛΑΥΡΟΥΒΡΟΤΟΝΜΕΙΜΗΜΑΤΕΛΕ  
 ΜΗΔΕΝΑΓΑΝΦΡΟΝΕΙΝΠΑ ΒΙΟΣΚΑΜΠΤΕΙ  
 ΤΟΥΝΕΡΑΔΙΠΑΙΖΕΝ ΛΗΣΘΗ  
 ΣΤΗΣΕΔΕΤΗΝΔΡ (missing)  
 ΜΟΡΣΙΑΝΟΣΕΡΜΑ  
 ΚΑΙΒΑΓΧΟΥΤΕΛ  
 ΑΥΤΟΚΑΤΑΛΛ  
 (Facit.)

<sup>1</sup> E.g. at Termessos, *B.C.H.* xviii. 1890, pp. 166 ff. Nos. 12, 26, 35, 41, 42. It also occurs in Nos. 3, 10, 18, and 22 of the inscriptions contained in this article. For all these names cf. the index to Lanckoronski's work.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. at Termessos, *C.I.G.* 4366 n; at Pöglä, *J.H.S.* viii. p. 256, No. 41; in the Kibyratis, Heberdey-Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien*, p. 54, No. 78, and in No. 20 below.

<sup>3</sup> The right-hand portion is made up of four fragments which fitted together exactly, and, as the reproduction shows, very little is lost between them and the left-hand portion. We were unable to squeeze or photograph the latter, as a stout tree was growing directly in front of it, which made copying a laborious business. But the copy is, as far as it goes, complete, and substantially correct.

<sup>4</sup> I wish to acknowledge the kind help of Dr. L. R. Farnell, of Exeter College, Oxford, and of Mr. A. S. F. Gow, of Trinity College, Cambridge, who have greatly assisted me towards the restoration and interpretation of this inscription; and particularly of Mr. A. B. Cook, Reader in Archaeology at Cambridge, who has given me, at the last moment, many valuable suggestions and references. Nor must I omit to mention Miss J. E. Harrison's kind interest in the inscription.

- Εἰ βούλει γινῶναι πῶ(ς) σκῆπτ[τρον] καὶ τί καλαῦροψ  
 'Ενθάδ' ἐντετύπαστε, στηθγρα<ε> καὶ τῆδε γνώση·  
 Τὸ σκῆπτρον Ἑρμοῦ προκαθ[ηγέτ]ου ἐστὶ πορεῖον,  
 Τοῦτ' ὦ, γὰρ κατάγει ψυχὰς μερόπων ὑπὸ γαῖαν·  
 5 Οὐτ' ὦ, δ' ἔστ' ὦ, καλαῦροψ βροτ' ὦ ν μείμημα τελε[υτήs].  
 Μηδὲν ἄγαν φρονέειν· πᾶ[ντων] βίος κάμπτει [ἐν ἄκρῳ].  
 Τοῦνεκα δὲ παίζε' ἵ ν [? μετὰ σπου]δῆς θνη[τὸν ἐόντα ?].  
 Στῆσε δὲ τὴν δρ[οίτην - - - ]  
 Μορσιανὸς Ἑρμα[ίου ? - - - - ]  
 10 Καὶ Βάγχου τελ[ετὰς μεμνημένος ? - - - | - - ]  
 Αὐτὸ κατὰ . ΛΛ - - - - .

The mutilated condition of this inscription is a matter for regret, as it has no close parallels, and thus we have no clue to the exact restoration of the last six lines. Our difficulties are increased by the carelessness of the engraver, and by the fact that the author was somewhat uncertain of his metre, and allowed word-accent to affect his scansion.<sup>1</sup> The symbolism of the *καλαῦροψ* and the *σκῆπτρον* tend to raise this inscription in interest above the level of most contemporary metrical epitaphs.

The date can hardly be earlier than the second century A.D., and should very likely be placed in the third. Under the circumstances the use of such forms as *γινῶναι* for *γινῶναι*, and the influence of word-accent, are not surprising.

In l. 1 I am certain that the stone has ΠΩΣΚΗ, followed by a letter which I thought to be ρ; but in view of l. 3 the restoration *σκῆπτ[τρον]* is certain, and suits the space. Πω is presumably for πῶ(ς), with the meaning 'in what sense is the *σκῆπτρον* carved here?', though it might conceivably be for ποῦ, without affecting the sense. We must imagine that the *σκῆπτρον* also was represented somewhere on the sarcophagus, though it was not on any portion which we examined. For the opening words *Εἰ βούλει γινῶναι* we may compare several epigrams in Kaibel's collection.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In l. 1 πῶ for πῶς, and in l. 5 βροτον (if read aright) for βροτῶν, are due to careless engraving; in l. 4 τοῦτο for τοῦτ' ; in l. 5 οὔτος for οὔτως, and ἔστω for ἔστω to indifference to the spelling of the unaccented syllables. In l. 2 ἐνθάδ; in l. 3 τὸ σκῆπτρῶν Ἑρμοῦ; in l. 5 καλαῦροψ βροτ(ῶν); in l. 6 Βῦς κάμπτει; and in l. 9 Μορσιανὸς Ἑρμα[ίου ?] (unless we scan the first name as a *dactyl*) are due to the other causes mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Epigrammata Graeca*, 186, Εἰ φίλε πυνθάνεαι; 270, Εἰ κε θέλεις ἀνιχνεῖν; 408, Εἰ μου θέλεις γνᾶναι.

I know of no other representation of a *καλαῦροψ* on a grave monument.<sup>1</sup> The word is generally taken to mean a shepherd's crook, which is certainly the natural explanation of the object represented here, and is used in the *Iliad* and the *Anthology*.<sup>2</sup> In the first of these passages it is said to be used as a missile by the *βουκόλος ἀνὴρ*, who hurls it *ἐλίσσομένη διὰ βοῦς ἀγελαίας*; and the suggestion has been recently made<sup>3</sup> that the object referred to was not a mere wooden crook, but a *bola*, i.e. a stone or piece of metal attached to a cord and used as a missile in rounding-up cattle, as it still is in parts of South America. But the *καλαῦροψ* represented on our sarcophagus, though not proving the correctness of the traditional interpretation of the Homeric *καλαῦροψ*, at least furnishes strong presumptive evidence in its favour, and it is hard to believe that the word could have had two such different meanings as a crook and a *bola*.<sup>4</sup>

L. 2. *Ἐντετύπαστε* is no doubt *ἐντετύπασται*, from *ἐντυπάζω*<sup>5</sup> (= *ἐντυπώ*). Strictly speaking we should have expected the preposition to be *ἐκ*, not *ἐν*, *ἐκτυπώ* being the correct word in classical authors for to represent in relief, as the *καλαῦροψ* is represented here, as opposed to *ἐντυπάζω*, to carve in intaglio.<sup>6</sup> The next letters are puzzling for we have the choice between *ἐς τῇ(ν) θύρα(ν)*, and *στῆθ(ι)* followed by some short word, possibly *ἄρα*. In either case the *epsilon* immediately before the next word *καί* is inexplicable, as there is no room on the stone (or in the verse) for any expression such as *ὃ φίλε*. There is no difficulty about the omission of *ν* from *τῆν* and *θύραν*, and, though the inscription and the relief are not cut in any sense on the door of the sarcophagus, *θύρα* is not

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cook tells me of the employment of a somewhat similar symbolism on a mosaic table-top from Pompeii, which shows a butterfly resting on the Wheel of Fortune with a sceptre to the left, and a beggar's staff to the right; cf. Niccolini, *Le case ed i monumenti di Pompei*, ii. Pl. XLVIII.; Mau, *Ponté*, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xxiii. 845; *Anth. Pal.* vi. 106; *Anth. Parn.* 74. Eustathius, 1332. 45, defines it as *ρόπαλον ἐπικαμπὲς ἐν ἄκρῳ*. Arvanitopoulos, *Ἐφ' Ἀρχ.* 1907, p. 121, restores *καλ]αῦροπ(α)* in a Tegean inscription copied by Ross, *I.G. ined.* No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> By Professor J. L. Myres; cf. E. Norman Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 24, 313, 314.

<sup>4</sup> A wooden *καλαῦροψ* has the further advantage that one could not only throw it *ἐλίσσομένη διὰ βοῦς ἀγελαίας* to round-up stragglers, but use it simply for driving the herd, which not even the most skilful of shepherds, in Homeric times or modern, could do with success with a stone on the end of a string. The wolf-hunter, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 106, ll. 3, 4, dedicates to Pan *καὶ τὰν ἐκ κοτίσιοι καλαῦροπα. τὰν ποκα τῆνος πολλάκι βομβητὰν ἐκ χειρὸς ἡεροβόλει.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ἐντυπάζω* does not, I believe, occur elsewhere; but cf. the use of *τυπάζω* by Oppian in this sense, *C.* i. 458. The uses are often confused; cf. *I.* and *S.*, s.v.



an inappropriate word if the sarcophagus was regarded as the door leading to the next world.<sup>1</sup> I certainly tried, while copying the stone, to read these letters as ἐς τῇ(ν) θύρα(ν), and this may have misled me, but if we read στήθ' ἄρα it only involves the alteration of one letter, *i.e.* ΕΣΤΗΘΑΡΑΕ for ΕΣΤΗΘΥΡΑΕ: in any case the final Ε is apparently superfluous.

L. 3. The word after Ἑρμοῦ is presumably an epithet, and προκαθ[ηγέτ]ου is by far the most likely restoration.<sup>2</sup> The word is found only twice,<sup>3</sup> so far as I know, but it is a natural variant of προκαθηγητής, on the analogy of προηγέτης from προηγητής. Hermes' rod in the earlier poets is called ῥάβδος and not σκήπτρον.

L. 4. Is a reminiscence, in a condensed form, of *Od.* xxiv. ll. 1-10, which tell how Hermes conducted the souls of the suitors to Hades.

L. 5. Ἔστο must be for ἔστω, just as οὔτος for οὕτως, as it is hardly fair to assume that our author did not know the gender of καλαῦροψ to be feminine. In any case the second *omikron* in βροτον (for βροτῶν, shows the indifference of the engraver to the use of *omega*, whether in accented or unaccented syllables. The last word of the line is clearly τελ[ευτήs],<sup>4</sup> and the meaning of this and the next two lines is: 'Thus let the καλαῦροψ represent the end of men: be not wise overmuch: every man's life bends at the end of its course. Therefore being mortal play at will 'or, with a will (?)'. The symbolism of the crook and of life's race-course which curves towards its goal is somewhat far-fetched and expressed rather crampedly.

That the curve at the end of life's course is suggested by the καλαῦροψ is evident, and I have no doubt of the correctness of the restoration π[ά]ντων βίος κάμπτει [ἐν ἄκρῳ],<sup>5</sup> and, as Mr. Cook further suggests, the representation of the καλαῦροψ may have struck the poet as resembling

<sup>1</sup> As Mr. Cook suggests to me.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this restoration to Dr. Farnell.

<sup>3</sup> Kailash, *Epigr. Gr.* 1023, l. 5 (restored); *B.C.H.* xlv. (1901), p. 276, No. 17, on a boundary stone from Tegea, inscribed Πανὸς Δυκείου προκαθηγετοῦ (so the editor accents the word), date, 2nd century A.D. I am indebted to Mr. Todd for this reference, and for that to the καλαῦροψ in a Tegean inscription. For such titles of deities as προηγμένων, προηγέτης, προκαθηγέτης, etc., see the instances collected by Gruppe, *Gr. Mythologie und Kulte* (in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch*), ii. p. 1295, Note 1. Add to them the phrase in an Alexandrian hexameter-fragment published by Professor Goodspeed, *J.H.S.* xxiii. (1903), p. 240, A. 1 17, [ἀ]θανάτων προκαθηγητήρ.]

<sup>4</sup> As Mr. Gow has convinced me.

<sup>5</sup> Suggested by Mr. Cook: cf. Eur. *Hec.* 1006 (ed. G. Murray, 1909), ὅταν δὲ κάμψῃς καὶ τελευτήσῃς βίον.

the view of half a stadium, or rather of one straight side and half the curve at one end.

In l. 7, though the precise restoration is uncertain, we cannot doubt that the advice given was 'play while you can and may.' I am inclined to read  $\delta\iota$  (=  $\delta\epsilon\iota$ )  $\piαιζέ(ι)ν$ , though  $\deltaή$  is equally possible: the difference on the stone is only between  $\Delta\text{I}\Pi$  and  $\Delta\text{H}\Pi$ . If we read  $\delta\iota$  the last two words of the line will be  $\thetaνη[\tauὸν \acute{\epsilon}όντα]$ ; if we read  $\deltaή$ , perhaps  $\thetaνη[\tauὸς \acute{\epsilon}ὼν σὺ]$ . The missing words may be restored, e.g. as  $[\muετ\grave{\alpha} \sigmaπου]δῆς$ ,<sup>1</sup> or (as Mr. Cook suggests)  $[\acute{\omicron}πόσ' \acute{\alpha}ν θέ]λῃς$ ; it is hard to avoid a false quantity, but there is no ground for supposing that the poet was blameless here in that respect.

The last four lines are beyond hope of complete restoration, and probably stated whose the sarcophagus was, followed by a statement that the occupant was initiate in some Bacchic rites, and finally perhaps by a word of farewell to the reader. Line 8 should probably read  $\Sigma\tauῆσε \delta\epsilon \tauὴν \delta\rho[οίτην - - -]$ ; the rare word  $\delta\rhoοίτην$  can sometimes mean a sarcophagus.<sup>2</sup> L. 9 contains the name of the deceased  $\text{Μορσιανὸς Ἐρμα[ίου ?]}$ , followed perhaps by the names of his ancestry.<sup>3</sup> L. 10 states that he was a member, perhaps a priest, of some Dionysiac society. This may lead us to see a further symbolic meaning in the  $\kappaαλαῦροψ$ , for it was the habitual attribute of the  $\betaουκόλοι$ , the name given to certain priests in the celebration of the Dionysiac mysteries in Asia Minor, Crete, Thebes, and other places.<sup>4</sup> Thus if the occupant of the sarcophagus was himself a  $\betaουκόλος$  it would not be unnatural for him to represent a  $\kappaαλαῦροψ$  on his tomb, and the presence of the 'sceptre of Hermes' would be in keeping (cf. ll. 3 and 4) with the chthonic aspects of the Dionysiac ritual.

The last line is beyond recovery.

3. In a Turkish cemetery close to Kyshlár, about 35 minutes W. of Istánoz. Columnar stele, inserted upside-down, measuring '43 in height

<sup>1</sup> If we may credit the poet with a reminiscence of the classical contrast of  $\piαιζειν$  and  $\sigmaπουδῇ$ , c.f. Plato, *Legg.* 887 D,  $\muετ\grave{\alpha} \tauε \piαιδιῶς \kappaαὶ \muετ\grave{\alpha} \sigmaπουδῆς$ .

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s.v.; this I owe to Mr. Cook.

<sup>3</sup> The name  $\text{Μορσιανος}$  does not seem to occur elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. O. Kern, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iii. pp. 1013-1017. I am indebted to Mr. Cook for this reference and interpretation. May we see in this use of the  $\kappaαλαῦροψ$ , in Asia Minor at least, an indirect survival from Hittite practices? Cf., for instance, the  $\kappaαλαῦροψ$ -like staves carried in the procession in the Peraklin relief. Gurgang *Land of the Hittites*, p. 150. Pl. XLVII.

and .44 in diameter. Letters *α*, .03 high, much weathered at the beginning of the lines.

ΕΑΙ /ΙΚΑΙΑΤΤΑΣ	Ἐ . . . . καὶ Ἄττας	
ΚΑΙΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΑΣ	καὶ Τροκόνδας	
Κ /ΤΕΙΜΑΣΑΠΙ	κ[αὶ Ἄρ]τείμας Ἄτ(τ)ι	
/ ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΟΥ	. . . . Τροκόνδου	
ΠΡΙΝ /ΕΨΑΝΤΑΚΑΙ	πρὶν [θρ]έψαντα καὶ	5
ΠΑΤΡΩΝΑΚΑΙΜΑΓ	πατρῶνα καὶ Μαγ-	
ΝΟΥ / ΑΝΑΠΟΛΕ	νου . . . αν Ἀπολε-	
ΔΡ /ΟΥΥΓΑΤΕ	δρ[ . . . υ] θυγατέ-	
ΡΑΖΩΗΑΣΣΚΑΙΓΗΝ	ρα ζῶν(τ)ας<ς>? καὶ Γῆν	
ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥΓΕΝΟΜΕ	Ἑρμαίου γενομέ-	10
ΝΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣΤΟΥ	νας γυναῖκες τοῦ	
ΑΤΤΑΜΝΗΜ / ΝΕΚΕΝ	Ἄττα μνήμ[ης ἔ]νεκεν.	

Many of these names are known elsewhere: in fact some are so common that it would be unwise to assume that any of these persons can be definitely brought into connection with other families known from inscriptions of this district. I am very doubtful as to the first name; it should perhaps be a man's name ending in Ν, but I have none to suggest.

The name *Τροκόνδας* is common in eastern Lycia<sup>1</sup> and in the region of Termessos:<sup>2</sup> it is found as far afield as Iconium<sup>3</sup> (Konia). Ἄττας is also found as Ἄττης.<sup>4</sup> In l. 3 [Ἄρ]τείμας<sup>5</sup> is presumably to be restored; the last sign but one is strange, and I can only suggest, as both of the downward strokes seem intentional, that the engraver used it to represent ΤΤ. The sense requires a name in the accusative,<sup>6</sup> but I can offer no likely restoration, unless we suppose that the last letter of l. 3 was originally Η, and read Ἄττ[ην υἱὸν].<sup>7</sup> L. 5, for *θρέψαντα* without an article, cf. *θρέψαντι* in a similar context, *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905, p. 59, No. 16

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *C.I.G. add.* 4300 m: 4321 b, c: 4341 c.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *C.I.G.* 4366 k, n (Ἄρ. Τροκόνδας): 4367 ζ. There is an epitaph of a *Τροκόνδας* of Termessos in Athens, *I.G.* iii. 2, 2937.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xvii. p. 124, No. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Ε at Tefenny, *C.I.G.* 4366 α: the genitive Ἀττέους at Fogla (Foghla), *A.J.A.* 1888, p. 10, may come from either form.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *C.I.G.* 4226, 4248: Ἀρτίμας is still more common: cf. *C.I.G. add.* 4315 b, 4321 d, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *I.e.* the name of which the genitive is contained in l. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Or rather ἔστ, if only four letters are lost.

(at Cyzicus). This word together with *πατρωνα* in l. 6 would seem to imply that the names in ll. 1-3 are those of *θρεπτοί*, who dedicated this stele to their master and his wives.<sup>1</sup>

Ll. 6-9 are unintelligible as they stand: the first ten or eleven letters ending in AN perhaps conceal a name, though *Ἀπολεδρ-* or *Ἀποδεδρ-* does not sound like a recognisable name for her father. ΖΩΙΝΑΣΣ is not much more hopeful; ΖΩΙΝΑΣΣ = *ζῶντας*, which is grammatically awkward, is perhaps the real reading. Γῆ Ἑρμαίου is clearly the name of the second wife, the name Γῆ being known.<sup>2</sup> Γενομένης γυναικες shows the ignorance of the dedicators.<sup>3</sup>

4. Built into the wall at the western end of the ruined *Τέκκε* at Kyshlár. On a block of brownish marble measuring 69 × 50. Letters 0.35 high. Three lines in the middle of the inscription have been almost entirely chiselled out, and a few letters are lost on the right, except in the last two lines.

/ΙΣΥΝΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ	[Ο]ί συνστεφανω[θέντ]-
ΣΑΓΩΝΑΚΛΑΡΙ	[ε]ς ἀγῶνα Κλαρι[ον]
/ΕΝΤΑΕΤΗΡΙΚΟΝ	[π]ενταετηρικόν . . .
β . . . /ΠΙΣΤΙ	. . . Φ . . . Π . . . (στι) . . .
ΛΟΥΣΙ . . . Π	----- 5
ΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤ	λος - - - [ἐπὶ ? ἀγ]-
ΦΤΡΟΙΛΙΑΝΟΥΑΡ	ωροθετοῦντ[ος]
ΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΑΒΙ	Φ. Τροιλιανοῦ ἀρ-
ΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ	χιερέως διὰ βί-
	ου Ἀπόλλωνος. 10

This is the first mention of games in honour of Apollo Klarios in this neighbourhood. We know that they were celebrated at Kolophon in

<sup>1</sup> For allusions to *θρεπτοί* in S.W. Asia Minor cf. Heberdey-Kalinka, *op. cit.* p. 20, No. 22 (a mausoleum at Patara is built by two people *ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τεκνοθρέπτοις ἀπελευθέρως*); p. 27, No. 26, ll. 13-15 (also at Patara, *ἰς δὲ τὰ ὑποσ[ο]φία κατατέθειται τοῖς θρεπτοῖς καὶ θρεπταῖς αὐτοῖς*). These privileges to *θρεπτοί* are seldom found inscribed on sarcophagi, so we may assume that they were comparatively rarely given. For *θρεπτοί* in other parts of Asia Minor, in addition to the instance quoted above at Cyzicus, cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.* pp. 147, 350, p. 3546, and elsewhere; all, Plin. et Traj. Epist. lxx. In Athens, J. G. C. Anderson, *Journ. of the A.S.A.* (1896) 7, p. 120. I am indebted to Mr. Anderson for these and a few other references, and for his help and advice on several points.

<sup>2</sup> See below, No. 22, l. 5.

<sup>3</sup> A similar confusion may be quoted on a grave-stone near Lake Karditis, *καὶ οὗτος ἄλλος*, Heberdey-Kalinka, *op. cit.* p. 7, No. 20.

Ionía,<sup>1</sup> the headquarters of the cult, and there is epigraphical evidence for the worship of Apollo under this title at Sagalassos.<sup>2</sup> The present inscription is therefore interesting in view of the fact that Isinda (which clearly was situated on the rocky hill overlooking Kyshlár<sup>3</sup>, was an Ionian settlement, as we learn from its coins, which sometimes have the legend ΙCΙΝΔΕΩΝ ΕΙΩΝΩΝ.<sup>4</sup>

In l. 8 Φ seems certain: it can hardly stand for Φ(λαβίου). Possibly we should complete the name as Fabius, Φ(αβίου).

5. Built into the garden-wall, close to the gate, of a house about 50 yards to the north of the above. Squared block of soapy limestone, measuring 17 × 23. Letters 0.15 high.

ΑΛΑΤΕΑΒΑΣ  
ΚΑΝΤΩΤΩΑΝ  
ΔΡΙ

Ἀλάτεια Ἀβασ-  
κάντω τῶ ἀν-  
δρί.

The name Ἀλάτεια is unknown: possibly it is for Ἀλάθεια (= Ἀλήθεια), in which case cf. the use of Τ for Θ in No. 22 below.

6. In front of a house on the left bank of the Istánóz Tchai about 15 minutes above Istánóz. On the rectangular upper part of a base of white marble, of which the lower half is in the shape of the base of an Ionic column.<sup>5</sup> Height 0.34; breadth 0.70; thickness 0.70. Letters 0.02 high.

ΙΝΗΕ·ΑΣ ΤΡΙΕΚΤΑ/ ΔΕΙΠ/·  
ΑΛΛΟΥΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΚΟΥΔΛΑΠΕ  
ΜΕΩΣ ΑΛΛΟΥΤΙΚΑΙΝΑΝΝ/ ΤΗΓΥΝΑΙ  
ΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ/ Τ/·  
ΤΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΑΥΤΟΥΤΣ/ Ν/·  
ΤΑΥΤΩΝΤΟΜΝΚΑΕΙΩΝΚΑΤΑΔΙΑ  
/ ΙΚΗΝΤΟΥ ΑΛΛΟΥΤΟΣ

... νηεαστρίεκτα . δε . . . .

Ἀλλοῦτος Ἀπολλωνίου Κουδλαπέ-

μεως Ἀλλοῦτι καὶ Ναυ[νήλι] τῇ γυναι-

<sup>1</sup> Dittenb. *Syll.* 676.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G. ad res Rom. fert.* iii. 342, l. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ramsay, *Ath. Mitt.* x. (1885), p. 340, and above, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> *B.M. Cat. Lycia*, etc., *Introd.* pp. xciii. ff.; pp. 225, 226.

<sup>5</sup> In the upper surface three holes are cut, as though to receive the feet of a tripod.

κὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλων[ίᾳ ? - - - τ . ]  
 τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ το - - - ν . . 5  
 ταυτων τὸ μν(ημεῖον ?) κα[ὶ ?]εἶων κατὰ δια-  
 [θῆ]κην τοῦ Ἀλλοῦτος.

In l. 1 no letter seems to be lost between the first Ε and Α. The dot indicated in the copy can hardly be a stop, though that after the C may be. I prefer in either case not to attempt a restoration of the line, which may be full of abbreviations.

The name Ἀλλοῦς is not known elsewhere, to the best of my knowledge. It seems to be akin to such Cilician names as Ἀπολλῶς, Κλοῦς, Λοῦς, etc., which occur in the Corycian cave inscription.<sup>1</sup> Κουδλαπέμεως (the fourth letter might be Α or Λ) seems also Cilician in origin (the nominative presumably was Κουδλαπέμης) and suggests such names as Κούας<sup>2</sup> or Κούαλις:<sup>3</sup> it is unlikely that the latter half of the name conceals an ethnic, and the ending -πέμης is quite possible for a proper name.<sup>4</sup> The name Ναννηλῆς, of which both the spelling and the declension vary, is common at Termessos.<sup>5</sup>

I have no suggestion to offer for completing ll. 4 and 5, nor can I make sense of l. 6, even if we accept the abbreviation ΜΝ for μνημεῖον. The other letters are beyond doubt. Ταυτων can scarcely be for τούτων:<sup>6</sup> perhaps then we should divide thus: τ' αὐτῶν, but this hardly helps us much.

7. In a Turkish cemetery about 40 minutes to the east of Yertenkeui. On a large fragment of an architrave block of hard white limestone, measuring 35 × 1·26 × 27. Letters 1·09 high with practically no *apices*.

ΙΔΙΟΝΚΑΙΘΕΑΡΤΕ - ? τὸ να]ίδιον καὶ θεᾶς Ἀρτέ[μιδος - -

We cannot be certain that -ιδιον is the end of a diminutive such as ναίδιον, though it seems probable. Another possible restoration would be ἐκ τῶν] ἰδί(ω)ν, κ.τ.λ., though the Θ is plain and cannot be Ω.

<sup>1</sup> I owe this suggestion to Mr. D. G. Hogarth. Cf. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, p. 77, No. 155, viii. l. 6, Ἀπολλῶτος (gen.); l. 88, Μῶς; l. 94, Πλῶς; l. 108, Κλοῦς; l. 151, Λοῦς; l. 152, Κνῶς.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *C.I.G.* 4402, 4410: the genitive was apparently Κούου.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Heberdey-Wilhelm, *op. cit.* pp. 137 ff, Nos. 225, 228, 229, 230, 232.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Heberdey-Kalinka, *op. cit.* p. 55, No. 80, for the name Ὀρνειμῆς at Kadyanda.

<sup>5</sup> *B.C.H.* xxiii. (1899), pp. 172, No. 17; 173, No. 18; 180, No. 34; 184, No. 44; 189, No. 54.

<sup>6</sup> The confusion of ου and αυ can be paralleled by Οὐολλαυσίας (= Volusiae), *I.G. ad res Rom.* *op. cit.* iii. 829, as Mr. Tod informs me.

8. *Ibid.* On a fragment from the side of a sarcophagus, '80 in height.

The inscription is cut in a sunk panel with bevelled edges; l. 10 is cut on the lower bevelled edge of the panel, l. 11 is on the flat outer edge, and ll. 12 and 13 in the plain field of the sarcophagus. Several letters on the right also stray outside the panel proper. Letters *ca.* '03 high.

ΑΥΡ·ΛΙΚΙΝΙ	Αὐρ·Λικινι-	
ΑΝΟΜΑΝΙΣ	ανὸς Μάνις	
ΚΑ'ΕΤΗΕΑΤΟΑΝΤ	κατέστησα τὸ ἀν'γ[ι]-	
ΟΝΕΜΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΕ	ον ἐμαυτῷ καὶ γυνε-	
ΚΙΜΟΥΜΕΙΔΙΑΝΚΕ	κί μου Μειδιανῇ κέ	5
ΥΙΩΜΟΥΛΙΚΙΝΕΙΑΝΩ	υἱῷ μου Λικινειανῷ	
ΚΑΙΠΡΟΓΟΝΟΙΣ	καὶ προγόνοις	
ΖΩΣΙΜΩΚΑΙΡΩ	Ζωσίμῳ καὶ Τρώ-	
ΓΛΩΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΕΤ	γλῶ· εἰ δέ τις ἔτ[ε]-	
ΡΟΣΒΙΑΣΗΕΤΥΝ	ρος βιάσητε, τυν-	10
ΒΩΡΙΧΙΑΣΛΟΓΟΝ	βωριχίας λόγον	
ΥΦΕΞΕΙΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΕΑΝ	ὑφέξει, συνχωρήσαν-	
ΤΟΤΟΥΜΑΝΙΟΥΚ'ΙΤ'ΙΝΥΜ	τος τοῦ Μανίου κ[α]ι τ[η]ν ὑμ τατα,	

In ll. 3 and 4 the word is presumably ἀν'γ[ι]ον (= ἀγγεῖον), though I am pretty certain that the last letter is Τ and that there is no trace of the Ι. The spelling need not surprise us at this date (probably third century A.D.). I had thought of ἀντ[ρ]ον, as being nearer to what is engraved on the stone; indeed the Τ might have been Π (= ΤΡ), but this word never seems to be used to denote a sarcophagus, which ἀγγεῖον frequently is.

For the phrase *τυμβωριχίας λόγον ὑφέξει* as the penalty for sacrilege, we may compare *C.I.G.* 2690, and *τυμβωρυχίας [νόμῳ vel sim. ὑπεύθυνος εἶναι]* in the Cyzicene district.<sup>1</sup> For these prohibitory formulæ see also S. Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie grecque*, pp. 430, 431.

Ll. 8, 9. Τρώγλω is perhaps an error for Τρωίλω, the former name being unknown elsewhere, whereas the latter is common; but I am certain that the stone has Γ. None of these persons are known elsewhere in this district.

The phrase in the last two lines is obscure; it means apparently that Μάνιος approves of the prosecution for *τυμβωρυχία* if the tomb is

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* xxiv. (1904), p. 32, No. 43; xxv. (1905), p. 61, No. 24.

violated. The letters that follow do not mean anything as they stand, and it is probable that the inscription is unfinished. We may perhaps complete it somehow thus: (καὶ τ[ῇ]ν ὑμ[ίσειαν (τοῦ προστείμου) λήψεται ὁ ἐλέγξας]. In this case we may compare, *e.g.* the following formulæ on sarcophagi all at, or near, Aperlae in southern Lycia: Heberdey-Kalinka, *op. cit.* p. 31, No. 38, τῆς πράξεως οὔσης παντὸς τοῦ βουλομένου ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει; *ibid.* p. 33, No. 40, ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος παντὸς τοῦ βουλομένου ἐλένχειν ἐπὶ τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει; *ibid.* p. 34, No. 43, ὁ δὲ ἐλέγξας λήμψεται [τὸ τρίτον]; *ibid.* No. 44 (metrical), χρυσοῦς εἰσσίσει φίσκῳ δέκα καὶ δέκ' ἐλένχῳ, etc.

9. *Ibid.* On a large base with a rough moulding above and below. The surface is much defaced, and nothing is legible except, near the bottom, the following four letters, which are about '06 high:

ΕΥΤΥ

εὐτύ[χει?]

10. At Yerten-keui, in a Turkish cemetery a short distance to the west of the village. Large rectangular statue-base with moulding above and below, lying on its side in the hedge by the road-side, and measuring 1'55 × '42 × '53. Letters '025-'04 high.

ΑΓΩΝΑΘΕΜΙΔΟΥ	Ἀγῶνα θέμιδος	
ΕΝΝΕΑΕΤΗΡΙΚΟΝ	ἐννεαετηρικόν	
ΑΧΘΕΝΤΑΠΡΩΤΟΝ	ἀχθέντα πρῶτον	
ΑΡΧΗΣ Α ΒΑΣΣΟΥΚΟΥ	[ἀ]ρχῆς Α. Βάσσου Κού[ου?]	
ΜΑΓΝΟΥ	Μάγνου,	5
ΥΠΟΑΥΡΣΤΑΔΙΑΝΟΥ	ὑπὸ Αὐρ. Σταδίου	
ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ	Ἑρμαίου	
ΕΚΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΙΑΣΤΟΥΓΕΝ-	ἐκ φιλοτιμίας τοῦ γεν[ο]-	
ΜΕΝΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ	μένου ἀδελφοῦ	
ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ	Λουκίου	10
ΑΥΡΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ-	Αὐρ. Δημητρίου Περ[ι]-	
ΤΑΣΙΣ	τασις	
ΚΑΙΑΥΡΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣΥΙΣ	καὶ Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίου υἱ[ος]	
ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥΑΜΑΡΑΝΤΟΥ	[Λ]ουκίου Ἀμαραντοῦ	
ΝΕΙΚΗΑΝΤΕΣ	νικήσαντες	15
ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΛΗΝ ΕΝΔΟΞΩ	παίδων παλὴν ἐνδόξῳ	
ΚΑΙ	καὶ	
ΣΥΣΤΕΦΘΕΝΤΕΣ	συστεφθέντες.	





The remainder of the stone is quite illegible. The second word I restore E[ὐτύχειον] on the analogy of No. 15 below, as this seems to have been a similar agonistic dedication, and we should expect this to be followed by ἀγῶνα θέμιδος, which suits the scanty remains of letters at the end of l. 1 and in l. 2.

12. *Ibid.* Built into a wall a short distance to the east of No. 10. Similar base, broken below, measuring 72 × 35. Letters α. 025, roughly cut.

ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝ	Κορνηλίαν
ΑΛΩΝΕΙΝΑΝ	[Σ]αλωνεῖναν
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ	Σεβαστήν
ΗΒΟΥΛΗ	ἡ βουλὴ
ΚΑΙΟΔΗΜ[...]	καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος.] 5

Dedications to Salonina are rare in Asia Minor: for examples from Phrygia, cf. *J.H.S.* xvii. (1897), p. 423; from Galatia, *ibid.* xix. (1899), p. 107; from Lycaonia, *Klio*, x. (1910), p. 234.

13. *Ibid.* In the garden of the house of Ak Bajaq Achmeda Effendi. Base of white limestone measuring 130 × 42 × 52. Letters 04-045 high, well cut, with *apices*.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ	
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ	
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΑΝΤΩ-	
ΝΕΙΝΟΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙ-	
[α]κὸν ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ	5
[σ]ωτῆρα τοῦ ΚΟΣ-	
[μ]ου ἡ βουλὴ	
[κ]αὶ ὁ δῆμος.	

Letters: Α Η Ι Κ Μ Σ Ω. In l. 5 *ad fin.* Ω.

14. *Ibid.* Similar base, found near to the previous number, and now serving as doorstep in the house of Hushem Faffas Effendi. 130 × 45 × 55. Letters 036 high, as in preceding number.

Αὐτοκράτορα  
 Καίσαρα Λούκιον  
 Αὐρήλιον Οὐήρρον  
 Ἀρμενιανὸν Σε-  
 βαστὸν σωτήρ[α] 5  
 τοῦ κόσμου ἡ β[ου]-  
 λή καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

In ll. 2 and 3 *ad fin.* the reading is ⑨. In l. 6 *ad fin.* ②.

These two bases were almost certainly engraved at the same time and by the same lapidary, and the two statues presumably stood together. They must have been erected after 166 A.D., when Verus returned from the Parthian Wars, and before 169.

15. *Ibid.* Similar base, more than half buried, face inwards, in the pavement before the door of the Mosque,<sup>1</sup> 1·20 × ·60 × ·60. Letters *ca.* ·02 high, neatly and carefully cut.

ΣΕΟΥΗΡΕΙΟΝ ἩΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ  
 ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΟΝ ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΟΝ ΑΓΓΝΑΘΕ  
 ΜΙΔΟΣ ΑΧΘΕΝΑΥΠΟΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤ  
 ΚΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΣ ΜΕΝΟΥ ΑΠΕΡΕΩΣ ΔΙΑΒΙΟ  
 ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΣ Α/ /  
 ΡΟΥΕΙΒΙΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΩΝ ΑΝΟΥΛΟΥ ΚΙΟ  
 ΕΞ ΥΠΟΣΧΕΣΕΩΣ ΕΚΤΑΝΙΔΙΩ  
 ΑΥΡΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΚΑ' ΑΥ  
 ΛΑΒΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ ΛΑΒΕΩΝΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟ  
 ΓΑΙΟΥ ΛΑΒΕΩΝΟΣ ΝΕΙΚΗΤΑ  
 ΤΕ ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΣ ΝΔΟΩΩΣ

Σεουήρειον Ἀλεξάνδρειον Ἡράκλειον  
 Εὐσέβειον Εὐτύχειον ἀγῶνα θέ-  
 μιδος ἀχθέντα ὑπὸ ἀγωνοθέτ[ου]  
 καὶ ἀρχιερασαμένου καὶ ἱερέως διὰ βί[ο]υ  
 ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ Ἡρακλέως Α[ν]- 5  
 ρ. Οὐειβίου Πετρωιανοῦ Λουκί[ο]υ  
 ἐξ ὑποσχέσεως ἐκ τῶν ιδί[ω]υ

<sup>1</sup> Willing hands quickly removed the earth which hid the rest of the inscription, so that we were able to read every letter preserved on the stone.

Αὐρ. Τιτιανὸς Μάρκος καὶ Αὐ[ρ.]  
 Λαβέων υἱὸς Λαβέωνος Μάρκο[ν]  
 Γαίου Λαβέωνος νεικήσα[ν]- 10  
 τες πανκράτιν ἐνδόξως.

Letters: A B **ΙΞ** E K Σ Ω.

There is little doubt that the second word was 'Αλεξάνδρειον and that it was purposely erased after the murder of that Emperor.<sup>1</sup> 'Ηράκλειον is striking, as being inserted before Εὐσέβειον Εὐτύχειον as though it were part of the Emperor's title. But we have no reason for supposing that he ever assumed, like Commodus, the title Hercules. That Commodus is not referred to here is proved by the word Σεουήρειον.

The explanation may well be that the giver of the games associated with the Emperor's name that of Herakles of whom he was priest, and that the words Εὐσεβής, Εὐτυχής, were no longer associated directly with the Emperor, but rather with the contest in his honour. But it is perhaps hypercritical to treat the order of the words in such an inscription too seriously.

In ll. 8-10 there seems some confusion as to the name of the second victor's father, the first Λαβέωνος appearing to be superfluous, though perhaps we are to infer that the father's name was Labeo alone, and the grandfather's M. Gaius Labeo. The ligatured **Κ** in l. 9 is striking, and ΥΚ appear twice as **Υ**. Πανκράτιν for πανκράτιον need not surprise us in an inscription of this date, *i.e.* the reign of Alexander Severus. For instances of the erasure of his name in Latin inscriptions see Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* i. 479, 480, 482,<sup>2</sup> 483,<sup>3</sup> 484.

It is not very likely that these last nine stones can all have been brought here from some other site or sites. But if Yerten-keui is an ancient site, it is hard to see what its name can have been, as Ramsay<sup>4</sup> has accounted satisfactorily for all the ancient sites in this neighbourhood. It is, however, just possible that we should place Verbe here, and not, with Ramsay, at Zivint, some two hours across the plain to the east. We know that Verbe had relations with Andeda, as an inscription<sup>5</sup> at the latter

<sup>1</sup> As, for instance, *C.I.G. add.* 4554, and probably *C.I.G.* 4997, though the editors note that the latter may refer perhaps to Elagabalus.

<sup>2</sup> Titles and name of his mother Julia Mamaea erased as well.

<sup>3</sup> His titles have been erased and subsequently re-inserted.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* x. 1885, pp. 334 ff.; *A.J.A.* 1888, pp. 13 ff.; see also above, p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* x. 1885, p. 338 (No. 3); see Ramsay's notes *ad loc.*

place honours a man who is described as ἀρχιερασίμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Οὐερ-βιανῶν πόλει, which indicates that Verbe was not far away. And it is perhaps significant that Yerten-keui is nearer than Zivint to Andya, which is undoubtedly the site of Andeda; and moreover, though there are no ancient remains to be seen there apart from the inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> Yerten-keui which is backed up against the hills to the west, exactly like the sites of Andeda and Pogla further to the north, seems a more likely site for a town than Zivint, which lies in an exposed position in the plain, with no natural protection such as all the other ancient sites in this neighbourhood possess. It is under the circumstances the more to be regretted that none of our new inscriptions give us the name of the town. The inscriptions at and near Zivint might have come from the site at Yerten, if my surmise is correct.<sup>2</sup> See also above, p. 85.

16. At Andya (Andeda) in the Turkish cemetery on the r. bank of the Andya Tchâi, close to the inscriptions copied by Ramsay (*Ath. Mitt. loc. cit.*). On a diminutive altar with a moulding above and reliefs on the three uninscribed sides (to l. Helios facing, radiate; to r. head of Artemis-Selene on a crescent; at back, uncertain subject, perhaps two female heads). Dimensions .44 x .26 x .23. Letters .02 high.

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΛΙΚΙΝΙ	Ἰουλία Λικιννί-	
ΑΜΑΡΚΟΥΛΙΚΙΝ	α Μάρκου Λικιν-	
ΝΙΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ	νίου θυγάτηρ	
ΙΕΡΕΙΑΕΡΑΣΕΚ	ίερεια Ἔρας ἐκ	
ΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕ	τῶν ιδίων ἀνέ-	5
ΘΗΚΕΝ	θηκεν.	

The spelling Ἔρα for Ἥρα is striking. There is no doubt about the E. These persons are not known elsewhere.

<sup>1</sup> We were told that Nos. 13 and 14 were found together in a neighbouring building, though we saw no ancient masonry.

<sup>2</sup> If Zivint is an ancient site and is not Verbe, could it be *Ξυλίνη Κώμη*? Cf. Livy xxxviii. c. 15, where Manlius 'ex Pamphylia rediens ad fluvium Taurum primo die, postero ad Xylinen quem vocant Comen posuit castra. Profectus inde continentibus iuneribus ad Cormasa urbem pervenit.' If he crossed the Tauros (İstânoç Tchâi) near Euyuk and halted there, a day's march in a N.N.W. direction would have taken him close to Zivint; but Ramsay (*J. A. S.* iv. p. 273) may be right in placing Xylene Come further north, near Pogla: two years before he had placed it further south, near Ali-Fakhreddin (*J. A. S.* ii. pp. 130, 131).

IANO

- - ? : 'Aδρ]ιανό[v - -

18. *Ibid.*, close to the Mosque, on a moulded base built upside-down into the edge of a dung-hill beside the street. The top, which is much broken, is buried and a large fragment is missing from the upper right-hand corner. Dimensions:  $83 \times 57 \times 55$ . Letters *ca.* 103. The last three lines are on the moulding below the inscription proper.

ὙΡΙΣΕΙΜΕΝΤΗΣΦ  
 ΚΑΙΤΟΥΕΜΝΟΤ  
 ΕΥΝΚΑΤΑΘΕΕΙΔ  
 5 ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΛΑΜ  
 ΟΥΙΝΔΙΚΙΑΝΟΥ  
 ΑΥΡΑΤΤΑΛΙ ΔΙΔ  
 ΩΝΥΙΟCΟCΑ ΑΡΤΕ  
 ΕΙΕΡΜΑΙΟΥΟΝΗ ΑΓΟΡΑΝ  
 10 ΜΟΥΑΝΔΗΔΕΙCΝΕΙΚΗCΑ  
 ΤΕCΕΝΔΟΩCΑΝΔΡΩΝ  
 ΔΙΑΥΛΟΝ-ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΠΗ  
 ΚΥΛΓΕΥΤΟΑΜΙΕΥΤΥ  
 ΑΤΤΑΛΙΩΝ

- - - (?) κατα]-

5  
[Χ]ρή(?)σει μὲν τῇ σφ[ετέρᾳ]  
καὶ τοῦ σεμνοτ[άτου πατρός(?)]  
συγκαταθέσει [δὲ - - - -]  
γενομένου λαμ - - - - -  
Οὐνδικιανού - - - - -  
Ἀνρ. Ἀπταλί- (Palm) Διλ - - -  
ων υἱὸς Ὅσα- (Branch) Ἀρτέ[μωνος(?)]  
εἰ Ἑρμαίου Ὀνησ[ί]- ἄγορα[ύ]-

10    μου Ἀνδηδεῖς νεικήσα[ν]-  
       τες ἐνδόξως ἀνδρῶν  
       δίαυλον- εὐτύχει πη-  
       κυλγευτοαμι εὐτύ[χει]  
       Ἀτταλίων.

It is impossible to say exactly how many lines are lost from the beginning. L. 1 is hopeless. In L. 2, if the third letter was *iota*, according as the first letter was Κ or Χ, we may restore κ]ρίσει or χ]ρίσει. Neither is easy to parallel exactly, as κρίσις is usually employed in such phrases as βουλῆς καὶ δήμου κρίσει<sup>1</sup> rather than with reference to individuals, and χρίσις seems to be unknown with the meaning of providing oil for the competitors at a festival. Perhaps we should read [καταχ]ρήσει (IC, not IC, i.e. at his own expense; but even this is difficult to accept as a variant for ἐκ τῶν ιδίων, which we should expect if this was the sense intended, though it seems to give point to the antithesis συγκαταθέσει δὲ (τοῦ δεινός) better than either of the other alternatives. The latter phrase appears to have no parallel in the sense of contribution to the expenses of a festival, though it is known in a more general sense.<sup>2</sup> I prefer to leave the point undecided.

The size of the letters varies, so it is hard to say exactly how many are missing on the right in each line. But there might be room at the end of l. 3 for the obvious restoration σεμνοτ[άτου πατρός], if we assume that ligatures were employed and that the letters were crowded together. This gives a total of twenty-two letters to this line, as against nineteen in l. 10 and sixteen in l. 11. In ll. 4-6 it is not easy to arrive at an exact restoration, though the general sense is clear. In ll. 7-9 the names, obviously of the two victors, are written in two columns, divided by a palm-branch symbolical of victory. The left-hand column is slightly the wider of the two; we can establish the original width of the stone in l. 11, where both edges are preserved. In l. 9, where the letters are very much cramped, there are thirteen to the left of the palm-branch, and therefore not more than twelve to the right of it. In the two previous lines they are more widely spaced, at any rate on the left, and we may infer that there were not more than ten, or at most eleven, in the right-hand column here, and there may have been only eight. There is no doubt as to the name

<sup>1</sup> E.g. at Oenoanda, Heberdey-Kalinka, *op. cit.* p. 49, No. 65. Δόγματι is still commoner in this context.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. at Pergamon, Dittenb. *O.C.I.* 484, l. 32.

and descent of the victor in the left-hand column, *Αὐρ. Ἀτταλίων υἱὸς Ὅσα.εἰ Ἐρμαίου Ὀνησι[?]μου*, but we have much less to guide us towards that of his fellow-victor. It is just possible that it began at the end of l. 6, but we cannot be sure. If not, then it began with *Δια*(*δ* or *λ*),<sup>1</sup> and the father's name began with *Ἀρτε-*. L. 9 may presumably be completed *ἀγοραν[όμου]* either as a title or a proper name.<sup>2</sup> In l. 10 we have the ethnic, which is known already both from inscriptions and from coins.<sup>3</sup> Ll. 12, 13, after the word *δίαυλον*, seem to lapse into sheer nonsense. There is no doubt as to any of the letters which are contemporary with the rest of the inscription, nor is anything lost after the *η* at the end of l. 12, and that they have some connection with the rest of the inscription is proved by the name *Ἀτταλίων* in l. 14. I restore the last word of l. 13 as *εὐτύ[χει]* (bravo!), addressed to *Ἀτταλίων*, but the meaning of the letters *πηκυλγεντοαμι* is beyond my comprehension. We should have expected the name of the other victor.

19 *Ibid.* Supporting a wooden pillar under the balcony of a house close to the previous stone. Base with funerary reliefs on sides:  $52 \times 55 \times 52$ . Letters .02 high. L. 1 is carved on the cornice, separated from ll. 2 and 3 by a band of moulding.

ΤΕΡΜΙΛΑΣ ΜΟΛΕΣΕΩΣ ΣΠΑΝΟΥ  
(moulding) NOY

ΕΑΥΤΩ ΖΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΕΙ  
ΤΗ ΓΑΜΕΤΗ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΖΩΣΙ

[Τε]ρμίλας Μολέσεως Σπάνου

ἐαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ Ἀρτέμει  
τῇ γαμετῇ αὐτοῦ ζῶσι.

The name *Τερμίλας* occurs also at Korinasa a few miles to the north (*A.J.A.* iv. p. 265, No. 5), but is I believe otherwise unknown. It is natural to connect it with the name of the *Τερμίλαι*, whom, according to Herodotus (i. 173, vii. 92), Sarpedon introduced from Crete into Lycia.

*Μόλεσις* is not a rare name, especially in the Kibyratís.<sup>4</sup> *Σπάνος*

<sup>1</sup> For this name we have a large choice: *Διαιτριανός*, which is known at Pogla, is rather too long for the space. The name of his father may have been *Ἀρτέμων* or *Ἀρτεΐμας*, which are common in this district.

<sup>2</sup> The letters *μου* at the beginning of l. 10 seem to do double duty, as the end of both *Ὀνησίμου* and *ἀγορανόμου*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* x. (1885), p. 337. On coins, *B.M.C. Lycia*, etc., pp. 174, 175.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. *Μόλλεσις* at Bubon, *C.I.G. add.* 4380 b, l. 4; *Μόλεσις* at Oenoanda, Heberdey-Kalinka, *op. cit.* p. 40, No. 57; p. 50, No. 66; p. 54, No. 78. *Μόλλισις* at Chaumylessos



seems hitherto unknown. Ἀρτέμεις is very common in S.W. Asia Minor (cf. No. 22 below).

20. At Bayút, *ca.* three hours to the east of Istánoz, in the village square outside the Mosque. Pilaster-base slightly broken on the r., measuring .45 x .50 x .50. Letters .025 high.

ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΟΥΠΙΛΛ  
ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΑΝΚΑΙ  
ΑΡΜΑΣΤ

Τροκόνδον Πιλλ - -  
Τροκόνδαν καὶ  
Ἀρμάσταν.

The inscription perhaps began on a companion block which is lost, though the required nominative may possibly be contained in the second name in line 1.

Not more than four letters are missing on the r. at this point. I have no suggestion to offer for a name beginning Πιλλ or Πιλλα, and Πία followed by Ἀ[ύρ.] seems an unlikely alternative; I am almost sure that the third letter of the name was *lambda*. For the names Ἀρμάστα and Τροκόνδας see above, Nos. 1 and 3.

21. At Euyúk (wrongly named Eyub-Keui in Kiepert's map), *ca.* 45 minutes to the south of Bayut. Large marble block, complete below only, lying on the outskirts of the village close to the track leading to Istánoz. Letters *ca.* .035 high.

PP. PATRIS . SVI.  
(*vacat.*)

-----  
p(ro) p'ietate) patris sui.

22. In a Turkish cemetery near the north shore of Lake Karalitis, about halfway between the mound mentioned above (p. 93) and the village of Manái. Columnar grave-stele with dowel-hole above. In a panel above the inscription is a poor relief representing a draped female figure. Height 1.03; diameter .40. Letters *ca.* .025 high.

Published incompletely by Benndorf-Petersen, *Reisen in Lykien*, etc. ii. p. 166, No. 195.

(Levisi) in Lycia, *C.I.G.* 4224 f. Compare also Μόλης, Heberdey-Kalinka, *op. cit.* p. 47, No. 62; *B.C.H.* xxiii. (1899), p. 171, No. 11, and Μολλιανός at Teimes-os, *C.I.G.* 904.

ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΕΡΜ	'Αρτέμων 'Ερμ-
ΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΤΕΜΕΙC	αίου καὶ 'Αρτέμεις
ΗΤΥΓΑΤΗΡΑΝΕC	ἡ τυγάτηρ ἀνέσ(τησαν)
ΛΑΜΑΝΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ	Δαμᾶν 'Ερμαίου
ΚΑΙΓΗΝΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ	καὶ Γῆν τὴν γυναῖκα 5
ΑΥΤΟΥ	αὐτοῦ
ΜΝΗΜΗCΚΑΙΦΙΛΟCΤΟΡΓΙΑC	μνήμης καὶ φιλοστοργίας
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ	ἔνεκεν.

The copy made by the Austrian expedition is deficient on several points. *E.g.* l. 6 is omitted, as are the last two letters of l. 2, the last four of l. 3, the last three of l. 4, and the last eight of l. 7.

The first letter of l. 4 is given there as Δ, which is probably the real reading, though it seemed to me to be Λ.<sup>1</sup> Nothing is lost at the end of l. 3, where we have presumably an abbreviation for ἀνέσ[τησαν]. I thought there was a dot in the middle of the last letter, but it is perhaps accidental: at all events ἀνέσ[τησαν] is more likely than ἀνέθ[ηκαν]. The spelling τυγάτηρ can be paralleled elsewhere in Asia Minor,<sup>2</sup> *e.g.* in Lycaonia, *J.H.S.* xix. (1899), pp. 291 ff. Nos. 198, Τιμότις (= Τιμόθεος), 200, τυγατράσιν, Τέκλη (= Θέκλη), and note on No. 201. We have perhaps an instance in No. 5 above.

The following inscriptions which we copied are already published, but in one or two cases noted below our copies are more exact than those of our predecessors.

(23) 1. At Adalia, now in the garden of a house outside the walls close to the well-known gate of Hadrian. The stone is broken in half just below the last line of the Latin inscription (*C.I.L.* III. Suppl. 6737) and nothing remains of the Greek version except the top of the Τ in l. 1, *ad init.* The published copy is correct,<sup>3</sup> except that in l. 6 *ad fin.* the stone has SVOM not SV[VM].

<sup>1</sup> Δαμᾶς is a common name, cf. *C.I.G.* 2562 (Crete); *ibid.* 2869 (Didyma); *ibid.* 2880 (Branchidae); *J.H.S.* viii. (1887) p. 257, No. 42 (Karibche in Pisidia). But Δαμᾶς does not appear to exist.

<sup>2</sup> For these references I am indebted to Mr. J. G. C. Anderson.

<sup>3</sup> Minute differences merely in the legibility of a few letters are not worth citing here. Though our copy had to be finished by candle-light it is slightly fuller than that originally published by

(24) 2. At Kai-keui, in the Turkish cemetery (between Fugla and Zivint). Dedication to Hadrian (Ramsay, *A.J.A.* 1888, p. 13, No. 12.).

(25) 3. *Ibid.* Columnar grave-stele (A. H. Smith, *J.H.S.* 1887, p. 255, No. 39). L. 2 seems to read ΖΑ-... ΟΔ, and the last letter of l. 3 was apparently Σ.

(26) 4. At Ürgüdü, concealed in a hedge beside a large house, near the northern extremity of the village. (*C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 6886 = *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 399.)

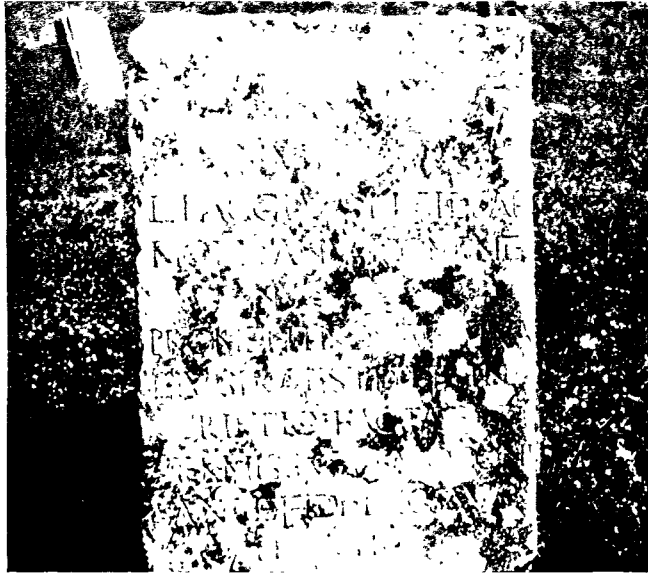


FIG. II.—LATIN INSCRIPTION AT KOMAMA.

(27) 5. At Sherif-cuyuk (called wrongly by Ramsay Shehir-cuyuk), the site of Komama, in the Turkish cemetery (*C.I.L.* iii. Suppl. 6885). As the photograph shows (Fig. II), l. 1 is much damaged, and in l. 3 the first letter is plainly N, though Ramsay's copy gives PI, which indeed we should have expected. After the M is an elaborate double leaf-ornament, which perhaps conceals an erasure.

Ramsay (*B.C.H.* vii. (1883), pp. 258-9); in fact I could see (completely or in part) every letter except the third and fourth letters of the word Aruntius, where a piece has gone from the surface.

(28, 6. *Ibid.* (C.I.L. iii. Suppl. 6887 = *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 401). The engraver had great difficulty in adapting himself to the use of the Roman alphabet, and, as Bérard points out in connexion with a companion inscription from Komaina,<sup>1</sup> wrote Δ for D, and in some cases Α for A, and in l. 9 my copy gives VΑΛΕΡΙΑΕ.

(29, 7. *Ibid.* (Ramsay, *A.J.A.* 1888, p. 263 = *I.G. ad res Rom. pert.* iii. 402). Stone very much worn, and our copy made in an unfavourable light is less complete than Ramsay's.

The following list of names which occur in Nos. 1-22 will perhaps be helpful.

Ἀβάσκαντος, 5.	Ἐ - - -, 3.
Ἀκτης, 1.	Ἑρμαῖος, 1, 3, 10, 18, 22.
Ἀλύτεια, 5.	Ἑρμα[ῖος ?], 2.
Ἀλλοῦς, 6 <i>ter.</i>	Ζώσιμος, 8.
Λούκιος Ἀμάραντος, 10.	Ἡρακλείδας, 1.
Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Ἀντώνιος, 10.	Κού[ας ?], 10.
Ἀπολλων[ία ?], 6.	Κουδλαπέμις (?), 6.
Ἀπολλώνιος, 6.	Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Λαβέων, Γάιος Λαβέων,
Ἀρμύστα, 1, 20.	Λαβέων, 15.
Ἀρτείας, 3.	Ἰουλία Λικιννία, 16.
Ἀρτέμεις, 19, 22.	Μάρκος Λικίννιος, 16.
Ἀρτέμων, 22.	Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Λικιννιανὸς Μάμι[ος], 8.
Ἀρτέ-, 18.	Λικινειανός, 8.
Ἀνρ(ήλιος) Ἀτταλίων, 18 <i>bis</i> .	Λούκιος, 10, 15 (perhaps only a
Ἄττας, 3 <i>bis</i> (?).	praenomen).
Λούκιος, Βάσσανος Κού[ας ?], 10.	Μάγνος, 10.
Γή, 3, 22.	Μαγνου[- ?], 3.
Δαμᾶς, 22.	Μειδιανή, 8.
Δημητριάδος, 10.	Μόλεσις, 19.
Διλ - - -, 18.	Μορσιανός, 2.
Διόδοτος, 1.	

<sup>1</sup> *R.C.H.* 1892, p. 419, No. 43.

Ναν[ν]ήλ[ι]ς], 6.

Ὀνήσ[ι]μος, 18.

Ὀσαείς, 18.

Ὀύνδικιανός, 18.

Πε[ρ]ι[τ]ασις ?, 10.

Ἀνρ'ήλιος. Οὐείβιος Πετρωνιανός, 15.

Πιλλ - - ?, 20.

Σπάνος, 19.

Ἀνρ'ήλιος, Σταδιανός, 10.

[Τε]ρμίλας, 19

Ἀνρ'ήλιος, Τιτιανός Μάρκος, 15.

Φάβιος ?, Τροιλιανός, 4.

Τροκόνδας, 1, 3 *bis*, 20 *bis*.

Τρώγλος (? Τρώλος), 8.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

#### PART IV.—COINS.

##### (PLATE VIII.)

THE following list of coins purchased on our journey may perhaps be instructive, as several seem to be unpublished.<sup>1</sup> Adalia is a centre to which come coins from all the district of Pamphylia and southern Pisidia, and, especially in my earlier visit with Mr. Hasluck, we were shown a remarkably large number. Every money-changer in the Bazaar, most shop-keepers, and many peasants and onlookers had coins for sale, genuine and otherwise.<sup>2</sup> In the larger villages in the interior, Istánoz, Elmalí, and Tefénny we saw a few coins, and a hoard of Roman '1st Brass' from the second of these places, which is alluded to below, was of considerable interest.

<sup>1</sup> I describe as unpublished those coins which I have been unable to find in the following works: *British Museum Coins, Asia Minor* (by provinces) [= *B.M.C.*]; Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*; *id. Griechische Münzen*; *id. Kleinasiatische Münzen*; *id. Zur gr. und rom. Münzkunde*, 1908; Babelon, *Inventaire de la Collection Waddington* [= *Coll. Wadd. Inv.*]; Macdonald, *Hunterian Collection*; Waddington, Babelon et Renach, *Recueil général des Monnaies grecques d'Asie mineure* [= *Wadd. Recueil*]. Where a coin is represented in *B.M.C.* no further references are given. Mr. G. F. Hill has kindly helped me with identifications and references.

<sup>2</sup> Forgeries, some of good workmanship, abound. I saw, in 1909, several specimens of the Themistokles-stater of Magnesia, and of the silver alliance coins of Kremna and Keratae (Heck, *Hist. Num.*, p. 707), which could not inspire confidence. A signed Euaneitos-dekadachm of Syracuse was a merely lamentable production, being thin and having a saucer-like flan. Even Greek copper coins are forged to a small extent, notably the 'large brass' of Gordian III struck at Patara, with the Apollo Patareus on the reverse: of this forgery I have seen at least three separate specimens.

		Type.	Where published.	Purchased at
BITHYNIA.				
1. Apameia.	E 10.	R. IMPCAESPLICALLIENVS PF AVG. Head of Gallienus r., radiate. R. COLIVLCO - - - - D D Armed figure advancing r., and carrying small child on l. arm, followed by small draped figure. <sup>1</sup>	Wadd. <i>Recueil</i> , i. p. 264, No 118.	Adalia.
2. Nicaea.	.. 11.	Legend worn away. Head of Emperor (young Commodus?) r. R. ΝΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ (in exergue). Young male figure (the Emperor?) in short chiton, with sceptre in l., stand- ing l. before an altar at which he is sacrificing.	(?) Unpublished.	Adalia.
PHRYGIA.				
3. Keretapa.	.. '9.	BOY ΛΗ Young male head r., laureate. Border of dots. R. ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕΩΝ Tyche st. l. in long chiton.	B. M. C. 1, 2.	Kazyk-Bel-Kahve.
4. Hierapolis— Cyzicus alliance	.. '8	ΑΑΙΡ ΒΗΝΟC Head of Helios Lairbenos r., radiate R. ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ Clasped hands.	B. M. C. Hierapolis 185.	Pambuk-Kalesi (= Hierapolis).
5. Laodicea.	.. '6	NE]PΩN KAICAP Head of young Nero r. R. Π]ΟΛΕΜΩΝΟ[Σ ΥΙΟΥ ΖΗΝΩ[ΝΟΣ] ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ Tripod.	B. M. C. 161-163.	Adalia.
6. Laodicea— Smyrna alliance.	.. 10.	NEPΩN ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Head of Nero r., laureate. R. - - ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ [ΖΜΥΡ]ΝΑΙΩΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΣ Two draped figures standing with clasped hands.	B. M. C. 265-269.	A. J. Badem.
PAMPHYLIA.				
7. Attaleia.	'75	Head of Pallas r., in Corinthian helmet R. Α]ΤΤΑΛΕΩΝ Zeus(?) seated l., r. outstretched, l. resting on sceptre.	(?) Unpublished.	Adalia.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps intended for Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius, as on the coins of Dardanus: cf. Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup> p. 544.

		Type.	Where published.	Purchased at
8. Pege.	E 7	Cult-image in distyle temple.	Unpublished.	Adalia.
(Pl. VIII B)	R.	[ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ] ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ Artemis advancing r., clad in long chiton.		
9. „	„ 13	ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝ ΚΑΛΩΝΙΝΑΝΤΕ Head of Salonina r.	„	Elmalı.
(Pl. VIII C)	R.	ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Artemis advancing r., clad in long chiton; bow in l., r. draws arrow from quiver.		
10. „	„ 72	ΑΥ. ΚΑ. . . . ΟΥΑΦ. ΓΑΛΛΟΝ Head of Volusian r.	„	Adalia.
	R.	ΠΕΡΓΑΙΩΝ Tyche st. l., rudder in r., cornucopae in l.		
11. Sillyon.	„ 7	---- CEYMAKPI - Head of Macrinus r.	Rev. = <i>B.M.C.</i> 18.	Tefénny
	R.	CIANV [ΕΩΝ] Athena (?) seated to l., dropping a pebble into an urn with r.		
12. Kothoul.	„ 68.	-- ΜΑΑΝ ΤΩΝΙΝΟC - Head of Antoninus Pius r.	Rev. = <i>B.M.C.</i> 1.	„
(Pl. VIII F)	R.	ΚΟΔΡΟΝ ΛΕΩΝ Dionysos st. inclined to l., by r. foot panther, in l. thyrsos.		
13. Isind	„ 10	ΚΓΑΙ.ΙΟΥ.ΟΥΗΜΑΞΙΜΟΝ CΕ Bust of Maximus r.	(?) Unpublished	Adalia.
(Pl. VIII G)	R.	ΙCIN ΔΕΩΝ City Tyche st. l. with cornucopae and rudder		
14. Pablassos	„ 7.	Κ. Μ. . . . . ANT - - - Head of Catacalla (?) r.	„	„
(Pl. VIII H)	R.	ΠΕΔΝΗΛΙC CΕ ΩΝ Zeus seated l., holding eagle. <sup>1</sup>		
15. Trimezzis Major	„ 7	Bearded head of Zeus Solymeas r., beateate.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 12, 13.	Istánoç.
	R.	ΚΔ Free horse galloping l.		
		ΤΕΡ		

<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Hill, in *Nom. Cl.* 3, 1, 195 for reverse type, and Pinder-Friedländer, *Beiträge*, 1, p. 81.

		Type.	Where published.	Published at
16. Termessus Major. JE 112		ΤΕΡΜΗ ΚΚΕΩΝ Bearded head (Zeus Solymeus) r. Below Θ.	Rev. = B. M. C. 41.	Istanbul.
	R.	ΤΩΝΜΕ ΙΖΟΝΩΝ Armed female figure st. l. Trophy behind; in field Θ.		
17. Termessus Minor. „ 172.		Head of young Apollo r., border of dots.	B. M. C. 6, 7, variety.	Adalia.
	R.	ΤΕΡΜΗΣ ΣΕΩΝ Lyre.		
SYRIA 18. Laodicea. „ 110.		ΑΥΤΟΚΡ. ΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑ [ΝΟΝΓ] ΕΡΜΑ Head of Trajan r., laureate.	B. M. C. 41, 42.	Icchenny.
	R.	ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚ[ΕΩΝ] Draped and tiarated head of City Tyche r; in field Δ.		
CARIA. 19. Antiocheia ad Maeandrium. „ 112.		Legend indecipherable. Head of Hadrian (?) r.	(?) Unpublished.	Ibmal.
	R.	ΑΝΤΙ[ΟΧΕΩΝ] River-god Maeander (?) reclining to l., holding branch in l. [Surface much worn]		

I add in an abridged form a list of the more interesting among the coins acquired by myself in Adalia in the previous year. Nos. 2 and 12, it should be noted, were acquired at Makri (Telmessos) in Lycia. The legends of the commoner coins are omitted.

1. ASIA MINOR, uncertain mint. (Pl. VIII. L.)	JE 197.	NERONI. CLAUDI. CAES. DRVSO. GERM. Draped bust of youthful Nero l.	Cohe. + L. 284. N. 82
	R.	COS. DES. PRINC On a round buckler within a wreath <sup>1</sup> IVVENT	
2. LYCIA ( <i>in genere</i> ). (Pl. VIII. M.)	JE 85.	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Head of Claudius l.	cf. Svoronos, <i>Nouv. de la Collection de mon.</i> , 337, Nos. 15 ff.
	R.	- - [ΑΥ]ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΤ[ΡΙΔΟΣ] - - Draped figure st. l., holding uncertain object in outstretched r.; l. hangs by side also holding uncertain object <sup>2</sup>	
PAMPHYLIA. 3. Aspendos „ 167.		Bridled horse r.	Ob. = B. M. C. 71-73.
	R.	ΠΕ Sling ΠΕ. [Legend seems new]	

<sup>1</sup> The specimen in the British Museum is from the same dies. This seems a rare coin.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly attributed by Svoronos, *loc. cit.*, and others to Cilicia, this series is now shown by Imhoof-Blumer to belong to Lycia, *Zur Geschichte von Mon. ant.*, pp. 21 ff. [1908].



			<i>Type.</i>	<i>Where published.</i>
4. Aspendo-	E 115.	Gallienus r.	R. <b>ΑΠΕΝΔΙΩΝ</b> Wreath with projections, enclosing words Θέαιδος τὸ ἐ.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 101.
5. Attaleia. (Pl. VIII. 2)	.. '64.	Faustina jun. r.	R. <b>Ι ΑΤΤΑ[ΛΕΩΝ]</b> Tyche st. l. with sceptre, cornucopiae and steering-oar.	(?) Unpublished. <sup>1</sup>
6. Magydos	.. '97.	Commodus r., laureate.	R. <b>ΜΑΓΥΔΕ[ΩΝ]</b> River-god reclining l.	Similar coin in B.M. [acquired 1903]
7. Perge	.. '62	Head of Artemis r.	R. Artemis st. l. Greek legend.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 5-7.
8. ..	.. '7.	Sphinx seated r.	R. Artemis st. l. Pamphylian legend.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 15-20.
9. ..	.. '7.	Domitian r., laureate.	R. Artemis advancing r.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 23.
10. ..	.. 1'02	Otacilia r., wearing stephane.	R. <b>ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ</b> <b>ΑΚΥΛΟΥ</b> Simulacrum of Artemis Pergaea in distyle temple	(?) Unpublished. R. as on <i>B.M.C.</i> 56.
11. ..	.. '9.	Philip jun. r., laureate.	R. Hephaistos seated r.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 63.
12. ..	.. '78.	Maximus r., laureate.	R. Veiled head of City Tyche wearing turreted crown	<i>Cf. B.M.C.</i> 49. <sup>2</sup>
13. ..	.. 1'25.	Gallienus r.	R. Three purses on three-legged chest	<i>B.M.C.</i> p. 292, No. 82 A.
14. ..	.. '7.	Gallienus r., laureate	R. Similar to above.	(?) Unpublished in this size. <sup>3</sup>
15. ..	.. 1'19	Salonina r. wearing stephane.	R. Similar to above	<i>B.M.C.</i> 96, 97.
16. Side.	.. '65.	Head of Athena r. in Corinthian helmet.	R. Pomegranate and dolphin.	(?) Unpublished. <sup>4</sup>
17. ..	.. '67	Similar to above.	R. Pomegranate.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 59
18. .. (Pl. VIII. A.)	.. '9.	Hadrian r., laureate.	R. Apollo standing to front, looking l. pomegranate in r., spear in l. In field to l. laurel-branch.	<i>Cf. B.M.C.</i> 80. <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The only coin, which I know, of Attaleia, struck under Faustina.

- Legend on R. is ΠΕΡ[ΓΑΙ]ΩΝ; on B.M. specimen ΠΕΡ[Γ]Η.

<sup>2</sup> Now in B.M.

<sup>3</sup> There are several points of difference: the legend on the obv. is different, and that on R. is differently divided, on the B.M. specimen and the laurel-branch there is underneath Apollo's left arm. The R. type more nearly resembles Inchoof-Blumer, *Kleinere Münz.* ii, p. 336, No. 13, but is not otherwise known on coins of Hadrian.

			Type.	Where published.
19. Sele.	A. 112		Sept. Severus r., laureate. R. Athena seated l. within distyle temple.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 81. <sup>1</sup>
PISIDIA				
20. Atassos (Pl. VIII. G.)	„	157.	Bust of Geta r., bareheaded. R. Hermes standing to front, looking l., in r. purse, in l. caduceus.	Cf. <i>Coll. Wadd. Inv.</i> No. 3635. <sup>2</sup>
21. „	„	17.	Bust of Geta r., bareheaded. R. Draped figure standing to front; r. lowered, l. extended.	(?) Unpublished. <sup>3</sup>
22. Selge.	„	144	Head of Herakles r. R. <b>CE</b> Winged thunderbolt and bow.	<i>B.M.C.</i> 50.
23. Termessus Major.	„	18.	Bearded head of Zeus r., laureate. R. Forepart of bridled horse, galloping to l. behind <b>KB</b> .	Cf. <i>B.M.C.</i> 18 foll. <sup>4</sup>
24. „	„	184.	Bearded and helmeted head r. R. <b>TΩNM[ΕΙΖ]ΟΝΩΝ</b> Solyms standing to l., armed	<i>B.M.C.</i> 38.
25. „	„	196.	Bearded head of Zeus r., laureate R. <b>[TΩNMEI]ZONΩN</b> Male figure standing l., in r. branch, in l. cornucopiae with branches. In field <b>Θ</b> .	<i>B.M.C.</i> 44.
26. Tarsos. (Pl. VIII. F.)	„	175.	Head of L. Verus(?) r., laureate. R. Zeus seated l. on chair.	For R. cf. <i>B.M.C.</i> 3. (Antoninus Pius.)
LYCAONIA.				
27. Eglais. (Pl. VIII. K.)	„	85.	Head of Sept. Severus l., laureate. R. <b>IVΛ AVΓC[O]I[AP]APΛAΙC.</b> Men in long chiton and Phrygian cap standing, with l. on a bull's head; in l. spear, in r. pine-cone. <sup>5</sup>	Similar coin in B.M. [acquired 1900]

I may perhaps mention in this connexion that at Elmalı we were shown a hoard of Roman Imperial '1st Brass' recently discovered in the neighbourhood.<sup>7</sup> They numbered 134, and were almost all of the third century A.D. Time did not permit of our making a detailed list, but we noted that very few indeed belonged to the 2nd century (Antoninus Pius 1, Faustina 3, Commodus 1), while the great majority were of Severus

<sup>1</sup> Apparently from same dies as my specimen.

<sup>2</sup> For the R. cf. a coin of Timbriada in Pisidia, *B.M.C.* 2, Pl. XLII, No. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Now in B.M.

<sup>4</sup> There is no specimen of this type in the *B.M.C.* with an earlier date than **KE** (= 46 B.C., the era of Termessus being 71 B.C., cf. Head, *Hist. Num.* <sup>2</sup> p. 712)

<sup>5</sup> For another specimen, *Coll. Wadd. Inv.* No. 4034.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 347, No. 118. The legend should read **IVΛ AVΓ COL-APΛAΙC**. I obtained in Athens a coin of this city struck under Commodus, of which the R. legend begins **IVΛ AVΓHA CO**—: the same form occurs on one published by Imhoof-Blumer, *Zur Gr. und Rom. Münzkunde*, p. 200. The letters **HA** point to a re-founding of the colony by Hadrian. Cf. also *Coll. Wadd. Inv.* No. 4792, and Head, *op. cit.* <sup>2</sup> p. 714.

<sup>7</sup> The owner would not give precise details of the finding-place.

Alexander, Gordian III. and Philip sen. Less common were those of Maximinus, Philip jun., Otacilia, '3), and Julia Mamaea '3), while there were only single specimens of the coins of Pupienus, Trajanus Decius, and Etruscilla.<sup>1</sup> There seemed to be no specimens of a date subsequent to the last-named Empress, and we may take A.D. 250 as the *terminus post quem* for the deposition of the hoard. That it cannot be placed much later is rendered likely by the absence of coins of Gallienus, which would have been in circulation very soon after A.D. 253.

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

<sup>1</sup> I secured these three, among others. The types are as follows: Pupienus, Rev. *Concordia Aug.*, Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 7; Trajanus Decius, Rev. *Genus Exer. I'yriani*, Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 53; Etruscilla, Rev. *Ferunditas*, Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 12.

# THE LATIN MONUMENTS OF CHIOS.

(PLATES IX.-XII.)

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## § 1.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE following is an attempt to present in one view the Italian and other western antiquities of the island of Chios. Some of these, as will be seen, have already been published, though for the most part in works not generally accessible: the others are the results of my own investigations in the island (1907-9). Like most other travellers in Chios I owe much to the kindness of residents and especially of M. Const. Kanellakes, who placed his unrivalled knowledge of his native island unreservedly at my disposal, and directed my attention to many points of interest which must else have escaped me. I am also indebted for much practical assistance and support to Messrs. L. and N. Zitelli. Since I began my collection of material the contents of the museum at Chios and some other monuments of the Latin period have been published by the daughter of the late gymnasiarch Prof. G. Zolotas<sup>1</sup>: references to this publication are inserted in brackets with the initial Z. before the inscriptions concerned, but I have thought it unnecessary to republish fragmentary texts to which I have nothing to add. An asterisk denotes stones I have not myself seen.

The monuments in question naturally date chiefly from the period of the second Genoese occupation (1346-1566), during which Chios was governed by a Genoese mercantile company controlled to some extent by the home government. The shareholders of this company ('Maona'), many of whom resided in the island, took almost without exception the

<sup>1</sup> 'Επιγραφαὶ Χίου Ἀνέκδοτοι in 'Αθηνά, xx. (1908), pp. 289 ff., cf. Βραχέαι Ἐπανορθώσεις καὶ Προσθήκαι, *ibid.* 510 ff. Prof. Zolotas was engaged, at the time of his death, on a general history of Chios, and the above publication was prepared from his rough notes.

surname of Giustiniani, with the coat of arms which appears so frequently on the monuments described below. This period has been treated in detail from the original documents in the monograph of Hopf,<sup>1</sup> to which little material has been added by subsequent writers. For the succeeding period the *Χιακή* of A. M. Vlastos<sup>2</sup> remains the best compilation. The chief dates are as follows:—

1566. Taking of Chios by the Turkish Fleet under Piale.\*

1599. Florentine 'Knights of S. Stephen' land under Virginio Ursino but are unable to keep their footing. The Latins are henceforward excluded from the citadel and the garrison increased.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Published first in German as art. *Giustiniani* in Eisch and Gruber's *Encyclopädie* (Leipzig, 1859), afterwards translated into Greek (*Χρυσάλλης*, ii., Athens, 1864, pp. 577 *seq.*), Italian by A. Wolf (*Giornale Ligustico*, 1881, p. 27, etc.) and Sardagna *Archiv. Venet.* xxvi.), and French, without the notes, by E. Vlastos (Paris, 1888). The genealogical tables of the families concerned are given by Hopf in *Chroniques Gréco-romanes*, pp. 503-25, and Rhodokanakes, *Ἰουστινιάναι-Χίος* (Syria, 1900); the latter work, though written from the point of view of a family chronicle, contains much on the general history of the island in the lengthy footnotes, but is so insufficiently indexed as to make this almost inaccessible. The best *résumé* of the period in English is Finlay's (*Hist. of Greece*, v. 70 *ff.*); a short article by J. T. Bent appeared in *Eng. Hist. Rev.* iv. (1889), 467-80. The economic history of the *Μαύρα* has been treated by H. Sieveking (*Genueser Finanzwesen*, 1898, Ital. trans. in *Atti Soc. Lig.* xxxv. [1906-7]). As to detail, Andriolo Giustiniani's contemporary versified *Relazione dell' Attacco e Difesa di Scio nel 1431* has been edited by G. Porro-Lambertenghi and published by the Deputazione di Storia Patria (*Miscellanea*, vi. 541, 558, Torino, 1865), while much has been added to the numismatic side by V. Pionis (*La Zecca di Scio*, Torino, 1865), P. Lambros (*Μεσαιωνικά Νομίσματα τῆς Χίου*, Athens, 1886) and F. and E. Gnechchi (*Riv. Ital. di Num.* i. 1888, 1 *ff.*).

<sup>2</sup> *Χιακά, ἡτοῖς ιστορία τῆς Χίου ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων μέχρι τῆς ἔτει 1822 γενομένης καταστροφῆς*, Hermoupolis, 1840.

<sup>3</sup> The best accounts are given by G. A. de Thou, *Hist. sui Temporis* (Genevae, 1620), ii. 368-70; G. Bosio, *Ist. della Sacra Religione . . . di S. Giovanni* (Roma, 1594), xxxvi. 757; and Bizaro, *ad ann.* 1566. Cf. also A. Morosini, *Hist. Venet.* (1623), p. 335; K. Dapontes in Sathas, *Μεσ. Βιβλ.* iii. 4. For the state of the city after the conquest see J. Palaeologus (1573) in Keusner, *Epist. Turc.* iii. 142 *ff.*

<sup>4</sup> May 1, 1599 is given by F. Fontana, the historian of the Order, as the date of the landing (*I Prezi della Toscana*, Firenze, 1701, p. 90), and 1599 by the Turkish historians (Hammer-Hellert, vii. 363, quoting Naima) as by the Chian authors, cf. M. Justinian, *Scio Sacra*, 163 (quoting records of the monastery of S. Nicolas) and the *Chronicle of Venita* (Kanellakes, *Χιακά Ἀνάλεκτα*, 380-1599, ὅταν ἤλθαν τὰ φερετήρηκα στὴν Χίον. With these agree M. Baudier, *Hist. des Turcs* (1642), pp. 443-4, A. Morosini, *Hist. Venet.* 616, P. Garzoni, *Ist. della Repubblica*, 541. Others give the date as 1595 (Deshayes, *Voyage* (1615) 346, followed (?) by Dapper, 224 and Finlay, v. 80), 1598 (Sathas, *Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ἑλλάς*, 1600 (Lithgova, *Travels* [1609], p. 93, G. Sagredo, *Mem. di Mon. Ottomani* [1673] p. 766), and 1601 (note in an Athos MS., Lambros, i. 300). Dapper (p. 214) further mentions an assault on the castle by the Latins in 1601 and C. Contarini (*Ist. della Guerra* (1710), ii. 439) that they were suspected of plotting with the Florentines in 1606.

Fontana alone describes the Florentine attempt in detail: the landing was effected at midnight to the N. of the town and the citadel surprised without difficulty: according to Baudier the sea-gate was blown in and the walls escalated simultaneously. The garrison rallied in the morning, and

1681. Duquesne bombards and burns eight Barbary ships in Chios harbour and incidentally damages the fortress.<sup>1</sup>
- 1694-5. Venetians under Zeno hold Chios, abandoning it at the approach of the Turkish fleet. The Latins of the island deprived of their rights for complicity.<sup>2</sup>
1822. Attempt to liberate Chios by the Greeks of Samos, followed by massacre of the Chiotas by the Turks and Kanares' exploit with the fireships.<sup>3</sup>
1827. Second unsuccessful attempt of the Greeks under Fabvier.<sup>4</sup>
1881. Chios devastated by earthquake.<sup>5</sup>

seizing an outwork on the harbour, fired on the Florentine galleys, compelling them to put to sea. The Florentine landing-party aided by the crews of three Turkish galleys, who deserted to them, held their own till a storm compelled their ships to abandon them, when they laid down their arms.

<sup>1</sup> This action, which gave rise to much fiction between the French and Turkish governments, is related at length by the contemporary Comte d'Arvieux (vi. 197 ff.) and mentioned under the same year by the Nénita Chronicle (1681. ὕταν ἦλθαν τὰ καράβια τὰ φραζόσηκα καὶ ἐρίζαν κομάτια ἄμετρα). See also G. di Burgo, *Viaggio*, i. 322; *Substance d'une Lettre Ecrite par un Officier du Grand Visir... touchant l'expédition de Monsr. du Quesne à Chio*, Ville Franche, 1683; *Relation Vritable de ce qui s'est passé à Constantinople*, etc., 'A Chio,' 1683; *An Account of Monsieur De Quesne's Late Expedition to Chio*, etc., London, 1683 (all in B.M.). The date 1691 is erroneously given by Guys, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, iii. 352 and quoted by Vlastos.

The engagement of d'Hoquincourt, a young knight of Malta, single-handed against thirty Turkish galleys was fought not in the harbour of Chios, but at Porto Delfino, 27 Nov. 1665. D'Hoquincourt was surprised inside the harbour of Pandoukeios stowing away plunder. He gave the Turks a broadside and escaped through the smaller of the two entrances, opening fire again outside and driving the Turkish fleet into the port of Chios. He then challenged them again, but they refused to come out (dal Pozzo, *Storia dei Cav. di Malta*, ii. 329. Vertot, *Hist. de Malte*, iv. 190; Nani, *Hist. Rep. Ven.* ii. 586; cf. Randolph, *Archipelago*, 50, 51. Tournefort, *Voyage*, letter 6).

<sup>2</sup> Sept. 15, 1694-Feb. 21, 1695. For accounts of this expedition († marks those I have found inaccessible) see *Vera e Distinta Relazione dell' Operato dell' Arme Venete*, etc., Napoli e Roma, 1694 (B.M. 1193 m. 1 (123), double fly-sheet); † *Vera e distinta Relazione dell' Acquisto... dell' Isola e Fortezza di Scio*, in Venezia, 1694 (Valentinelli, *Bibl. della Dalmazia*, No. 784); † B. Contarini, *Relazione dell' eccorso nel combattimento sotto Scio con l'Armata marittima Turca l'anno 1694 il mese di Febbraio*, Venezia, 1848 (*Bibl. Rhodokanakis*, 1238, 2); † G. Albrizzi, *Distintissima Descrizione della Città, Porto, & Isola di Scio*, 18° in Venetia, 1694, last pages contain *Diario dell' Assedio e Resa di Scio* (*Bibl. Rhod.* 15); and the anonymous *Del Acquisto e del Ritiro de' Veneti dall' Isola di Scio nell' Anno 1694*, 4to, 1710 ('Francfort,' library of M. J. Gennadios; 'Norimberga,' library of the Boulé, Athens; † in Trento, *Bibl. Rhod.* 5). The events are also described by C. Contarino, *Ist. della Guerra*, ii. pp. 436 ff. 483 ff.; Gratianus, *Hist. Venet.* ii. 587 ff., 610 ff.; Garzoni, *Ist. Rep. Ven.* xii. 539 ff.; Diedo, iii. 476-489; Locatelli, *Contm.* 15-17; Guglielmotti, *Storia della Marina Pontificia*, vii. 455; Rycant, *Hist. of the Turks*, iii. 518, 525, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon, *Hist. of the Revolution*, i. 350 ff. Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, vi. 251-263; Stamatiades, *Σαμιακά*, ii. 176; for an eyewitness's account of the town after the massacre. R. Walsh, *Constantinople*, ii., ch. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Gordon, ii. 450-473 (with a plan).

<sup>5</sup> S. K. Paganeles, *Οἱ Σαϊσμοὶ τῆς Χίου* (eyewitness's account of relief work). Athens, 1883.

## § 2.—THE TOWN AND CASTLE.

By far the larger proportion of the Italian monuments of Chios come from the town ('Chora') and its immediate surroundings. The Giustiniani had their town residences chiefly in the citadel,<sup>1</sup> while the plain to the south, called Κάμπος, *par excellence*, was studded with their country-houses. So late as 1677 Covell writes 'Here, as at Galata, he is no Gentleman that hath not his vineyard and tower.'

Of the fortifications of the town 'as apart from those of the citadel), which form so prominent a feature in Martelli's (the earliest?) view of *Chios Civitas*<sup>2</sup> (Pl. IX. A)<sup>3</sup> we can say little, as nothing survives. Thévenot speaks of eight gates existent in his days and town-gates are certainly shewn in Braun and Hogenburg's view.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that the town was enclosed only in the rough-and-ready style common to the Aegean

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thévenot, l. 298, quoted below, p. 176. Latins were prohibited from residence in the citadel after 1599, and many of the palaces lay deserted and in ruins even earlier (cf. the letter of J. Palaeologus).

<sup>2</sup> Amsterdam, 1727, i. 297, cf. Jerome Justinian (1606) p. 21: 'Le Bourg n'est point entouré de murailles: mais il ne laisse pas pourtant d'estre bien fortifié, a de belles portes et de bons boulleuars.'

<sup>3</sup> Pl. IX. A B.M. *Add. MSS.* 15760, f. 35 *verso*. A similar plate is reproduced by Rhodokanakes with the erroneous date 'about 1500' (Pl. 1).

<sup>4</sup> *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Vol. iv. (1617). This is the basis of the more modern plate in Dapper's *Archipel*. Other early views and plans of the town are to be found:—

(1) In G. F. Camocio's series of island maps (8vo. Venice, about 1571; B.M. *Maps*, 6. b. 41, f. 50). The fortress is drawn almost circular and two gates, the P. Maggiore and the N. postern, are indicated, as are the churches of S. Nicolo and S. Rocco: there are no signs of Turkish occupation or of town walls.

(2) In G. G. Rossi's *Teatro della Guerra* (fol. Roma, 1687; B.M. *Maps*, K 4, Tab. 50). This charming plate shews the town and environs from the sea, marks three gates (N., W., and water-gate), churches of S. Nicolo, S. Rocco, and S. Sebastiano, Bazarro, Palazzo del Cadi, Lazareto, etc.

(3) In Coronelli's *Archipelago* (Venice, n.d.): (a) Pl. 61, fanciful view of the town and citadel from the sea, reproduced in the *Isolario* (1696) p. 269; (b) Pl. 62, unrecognisable engraving probably related to Martelli's drawing, of a fortified harbour; (c) Pl. 63, careful plan of town and citadel, interesting as shewing the extent of Venetian information previous to 1694 and, by comparison, of the alterations carried out during their occupation.

(4) In the *Acquisto* (1710) plans of (a) town and citadel (reproduced by Rhodokanakes), and (b) Citadel (Fig. 2, below).

(5) In Le Bruyn's *Voyage* (Delft, 1700, p. 169) folding panoramic view of the town from the land side.

(6) In F. Fontana's *Pregi della Toscana* (Firenze, 1701), Pl. xi., Plan to illustrate the Florentine raid in 1599.

(7) In Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage Pittoresque* (Paris, 1782) III. (a) Pl. 35, View of Vounaki, (b) Pl. 36, View of the harbour. The former has been frequently republished.

The latest map is an inset in Admiralty Chart, 1645 (893) from which Fig. 1 (below) is taken.

islands and surviving in many Chian villages; houses were linked up, outside windows avoided on the ground floor, and the outlets of streets barred with gates: this was sufficient protection against a sudden raid and afforded some control over traffic. The defences were supplemented by a wall along the quay and a block-house at the entrance to the moat. The elaborate fortifications shewn by Martelli probably indicate nothing more than a conventional walled town.

The harbour was defended by two small forts at the end of the

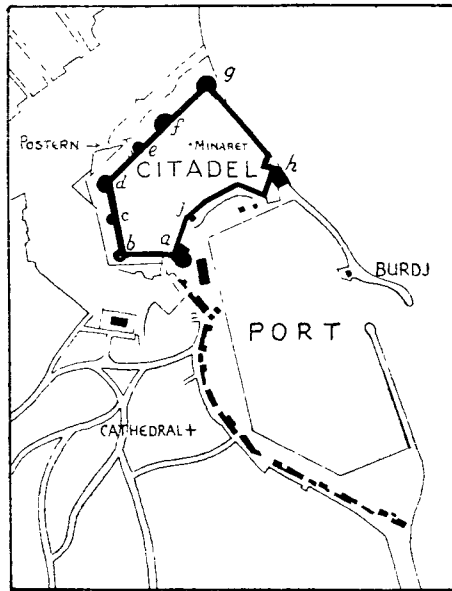


FIG. 1.—CHIOS: SKETCH PLAN OF THE TOWN AND HARBOUR.

northern mole (Molo) and at the base of the southern (Diamante).<sup>1</sup> The latter fort was demolished in 1695, the former, called *Castello del Mare, della Catena*, and later *Burdj*, rendered great service to the garrison in the siege of 1827, when it was severed from the land by the destruction of the mole. A fragment of it is incorporated in the modern harbour-office. The galley-harbour was at the entrance to the moat, which was protected by the guns of the S.W. bastion of the citadel and by the fort on the town side. (Fig. 1.)

<sup>1</sup> For the name cf. A. di Millo (*R.S.A.* xiv. 341) and G. Sandys' *Travels*, p. 10.



The castle or citadel is situated at the northern end of the port, which originally extended to its southern wall. The eastern side fronts the sea, the northern and western being of extra thickness and defended by a wide artificial moat, now dry<sup>1</sup> Fig. 2. The building though low and unimpressive is solidly constructed of reddish-brown local stone; it dates from

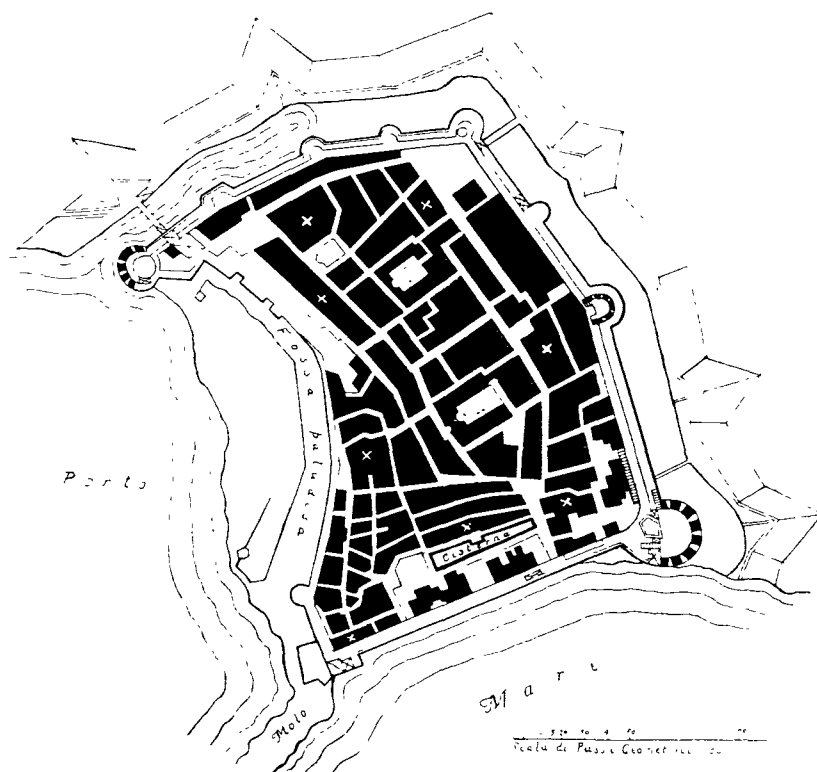


FIG. 2 —CHIOS: PLAN OF THE CITADEL (AFTER THE *Agoutie*).

the Genoese and Venetian periods, the earliest date given by inscription being 1404 and the latest before the conquest, 1522. The walls were evidently patched up again and again throughout the Genoese period,<sup>2</sup> and a considerable reconstruction 'alla moderna' was carried out after

<sup>1</sup> When Thevet visited the island (c. 1550) this moat was full of water. Its state in 1694 is shewn by the Venetian map (Fig. 2). In 1677 the 'graff' was 'for the most part dry, yet a strong easterly wind drives the sea in sometimes' (Covel). It is now cut off from the port by the new quay.

<sup>2</sup> Between 1346-1556 Chios was definitely besieged by the Genoese under Cornado d'Orta in 1409, and by the Venetians in 1431, while for the last hundred years of the Genoese occupation it was in continual apprehension of Turkish attack.

the siege of 1433.<sup>1</sup> This evidently included a refacing of the N. and W. walls, the inner towers being anterior to the process, while the perpendicular sea and harbour walls were untouched. The isolated tower E, which was left intact by the Venetians, shews characteristic detail (Fig. 3).

The gates were (1) Porta Maggiore on the site of the present entrance, a triple gate according to Thévenot<sup>2</sup>; 2) the northern postern, built or rebuilt in 1522<sup>3</sup>; 4) a water-gate on the harbour near tower E, only

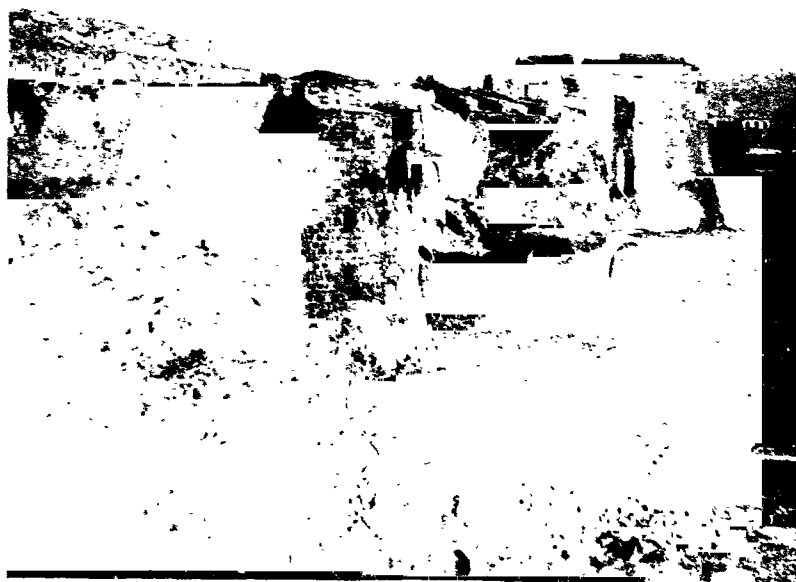


FIG. 3. — CHIOS: THE CITADEL, TOWERS L AND D.

known from prints and the description of Thevet<sup>4</sup>: it was probably superseded at the rebuilding in 1694 of the S. bastion, where there is now a postern approached by steps.

The Venetians, on taking the place in 1694, found that the Turks had done nothing to keep the fortifications up to date during their occupation.

<sup>1</sup> *See Sallia*, 45: cf. inscription (10) quoted below

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, I, 278.

<sup>3</sup> The north postern was closed in 1694, perhaps after the attempt of 1599, but was used for a sally during the siege of 1827 (Gordon, 404). Two gates were open in 1593 according to Jacobus Palaeologus.

<sup>4</sup> *Grand Insulaire*, quoted below, p. 183.

though artillery had made great strides in the interval. They accordingly strained every nerve to reconstruct the defences. Beyond necessary repairs (they had breached the wall near the S.W. corner), accommodation had to be provided for heavy artillery, for which only tower H was then adapted, the other four *torrioni* and the curtain being too narrow to allow for recoil. The towers at the N.E. ('Torrione Zeno' Fig. 4) and S.W. were reconstructed, the parapets of the N. and W. walls elevated and strengthened, and the main gate rebuilt. The latter probably preserved its original

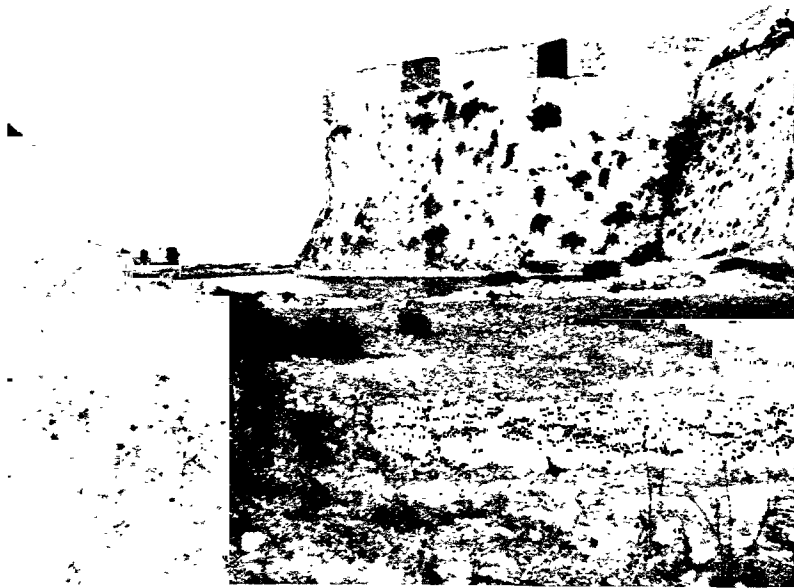


FIG. 4.—CHIOS: THE CITADEL, TORRIONE ZENO

lines; it is still a triple gate, the passage turning sharply left after the first gate and right after the second, where it opens on a small court, commanded on all sides by the platform of the wall, and closed by the third gate. A further scheme for a series of earthworks beyond the moat, indicated on the plan, appears to have been abandoned for lack of time.

After the retirement, which the author of the *Acquisto* pleads was rendered necessary by the incomplete state of the defences, some further works were undertaken by the Turks in 1695,<sup>1</sup> and tower D bears the date

<sup>1</sup> Gratianus, *Hist. Venet.*, ii. 638.

1146 A.H. (1748).<sup>1</sup> About this period the space to the S.W. of the citadel was cleared as affording cover for an attacking force.<sup>2</sup>

The inscriptions and armorial bearings in the castle are as follows :—

**1.** Main entrance, over outer door, large slab of bluish marble with erased inscription. This recorded the Venetian occupation of 1694–5. Van Egmont deciphered the name of the doge Silvestro Valerio, and the date 1694.<sup>3</sup> I read in 1909 . . . SILVESTRI VALERII VENETORVM DVCIS . . . . Near the inscription was a relief of the lion of S. Mark, which appears to have survived till the fifties.<sup>4</sup>

**2\*** A small marble fragment, said by Z. (292 (26 Pl. VII.) to have been in the Museum, is evidently by the date (1693 for 1695 ?) a relic of the same period. It bears the letters ? VIN]C — B[RAGADINUS ? beneath a shield bearing, apparently, the arms of Riva (*or, a bend gu. charged with three stars of the first*). Giustino Riva was appointed Proveditore of the island and city and Vincenzo Bragadino, Rettore.

**3.** Left of entrance, low down, three kite-shaped shields much weathered. I could read only that on the left (Giustiniani).

Above the shields are two marble blocks with five lines of inscription, much worn and overgrown. Zolotas (p. 300 (30), Pl. VII.) read :—

I read (1909) :—

NO3VIRIÒMINIANTONINI	(a) {	NO3VIR . . . . ANTONINI
NOSTRIEQVISSIMITRIENNIO		OSTRIEQVISSIMITRIENNIO
OSTETIAMÒEREVGILHVIVS		. . . ETIAMÒEREVGILHVIVS
MCCCC	(b)	. . . . . INSIGNIDOMINI . . .
		VNTIBIAPPOIMCCCCCLXXVI

Both copies evidently contain many errors due to the worn state and

<sup>1</sup> Below, No. 5 : the polygonal casing of the originally round outer tower and the marble work of the postern adjoining are clearly Turkish.

<sup>2</sup> Choiseul-Gouffier, III. 36, cf. also Coronelli, Pl. 63, which shews the space occupied by houses. Diedo (*Storia R. p. Ven.* iii. 485) says the Latin inhabitants in 1604 'offerivano spontaneamente le proprie abitazioni per atterrarle.' Karavàs (*Τοπογρ. τῆς Χίου*, p. 33) says that houses were destroyed here and the open space much enlarged after the disaster of 1822. Cf. Vlastos, ii 112. The *Piazza di Fanachi* (*Βουράκι*) is mentioned about 1639 in *Scio Santa*, pp. 201, 220.

<sup>3</sup> English ed. i. 245. Zolotas (p. 300 (16)) read VENERVS V . . . and MDXCIV.

<sup>4</sup> Fustel de Coulanges in *Arch. Miss. Scient.* 1856, 496.

awkward position of the stone. The inscription probably refers to Antonio de Montalto, Podestà in 1471.<sup>1</sup>

**4.** Inner tower B ; four kite-shaped shields :—

1. Giustiniani 2. [blank] 3. Genoa 4. Giustiniani : below :—

Shield 2 probably bore the arms of Visconti of Milan, erased from patriotic motives after the recovery of Genoese independence in 1436.<sup>2</sup>

**5.** Inner tower D ; Turkish inscription on bluish marble panel ; probably recording repairs, dated A.H. 1161 = A.D. 1748.

**6\*** Marble slab formerly over inner side of N. postern (where it was seen by Finlay in 1853) figured by Rhodokanakes,<sup>3</sup> who gives the dimensions as 0·83 × 0·56 m. It fell down during the earthquake and came into the hands of M. Ignazio Pascua of Chios, who tells me it is now in the Giustiniani palace at Rome.

Arms of Giustiniani  
with helmet, eagle-  
crest and lambrequin,

· PRETORE · BERNARDO ·  
· IVSTINIANO · P · BPTE  
· MD XXII ·

Pretore Bernardo | Iustiniano q(uondam) B(a)pt(ist)e | 1522.

**7.** (Z. p. 300 (15) and Pl. IV. 15) Tower J, high up, white marble block broken at left end, with four shields in relief within sunk panel (Fig. 5).

The block has evidently been removed from its original position : it may have been the lintel of the old water-gate. This portion of the wall was damaged by Duquesne in 1681.

<sup>1</sup> Rhodokanakes, 'Εκτ. Σημ. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> This was certainly done at Amastris and probably at Pera (cf. *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. Pl. XII.).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* ἐκτενέως σημειώσεις, p. 8, text of inscr. at p. 24.

The shields are :

1. Giustiniani 2. Genoa 3. [erased] 4. de' Marchi.

The shield of Giustiniani shews the earlier coat, *gules, a castle of three towers, arg.*, to which was added in 1413 by a grant of the Emperor Sigismund,<sup>1</sup> *a chief, or, charged with an imperial eagle displayed issuant sable.*<sup>2</sup> The bearing of Genoa appears from the weathering to have been indicated only by paint. Shield 3 probably bore the arms of France or of Boucicault, which were later erased as in Inscr. (4).

The inscription is as follows :

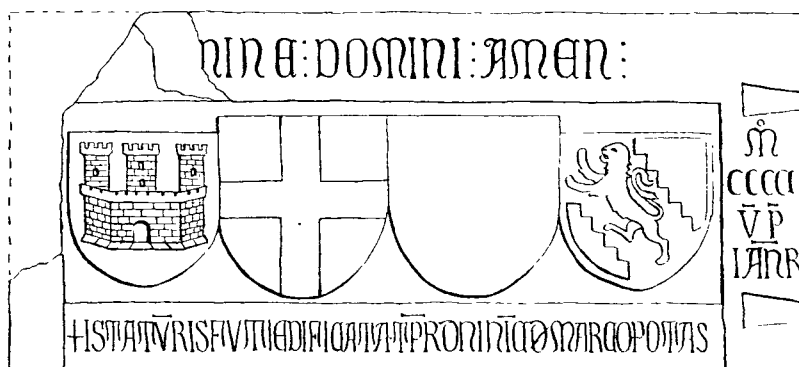


FIG. 5.—CHIOS CITADEL: HERALDRY AND INSCRIPTION (No. 7).

(above) In no]mine Domini, amen.

(right side) M | CCCC | V p(rimo) Ian(ua)r(ii).

(below) ista tur(r)is futi (*sic*) edificata t(em)p(o)r(e) d(omi)ni Nic'olai,  
d(e) Marco Pot(est)a(ti)s.

*In nomine Domini, amen* and similar phrases are used in such inscriptions by the Gattelusi<sup>3</sup> and by the Genoese colonists of Pera<sup>4</sup> and Caffa.<sup>5</sup>

The Podestà Nicolo de' Marchi is elsewhere unknown<sup>6</sup>: the arms are given in Coronelli's *Genovesato*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hopf, *art. Giustiniani*, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> The document is reprinted from J. Justinian by Rhodokanakes, p. 26, note 53.

<sup>3</sup> Thasos, Conze, *Thr. Inschr.* Pl. III. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *B.S.A.* xi 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs Odessa Soc.* vii. 276.

<sup>6</sup> A full list of *Podestà* is given by Rhodokanakes, *op. cit.* ἐκτενὲς σημειώσεις, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Pl. 12.

8. (Z. p. 301 19) Pl. VI. Same tower low down, coarse greyish marble block much worn 1.45 x 0.83 m., letters 0.06 Fig. 6 :

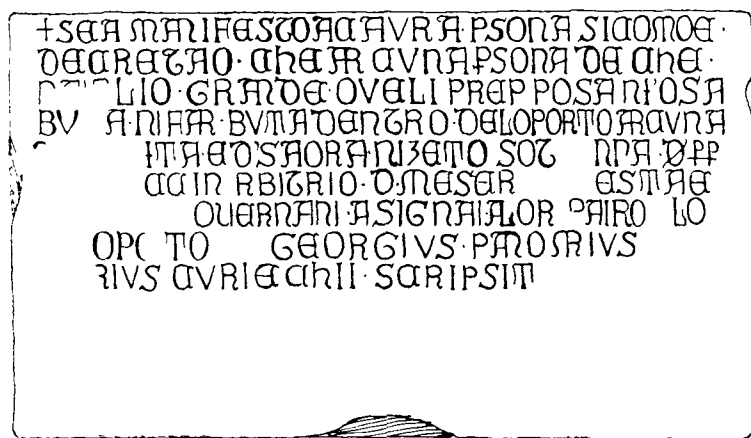


FIG. 6.—CHIOS CITADEL: INSCRIPTION (No. 8).

+Sea manifesto a caura p'er,sona sicomo e | decretao che arcuna p'er,sona de che | naiglio grande o veli (*sic*, prepposa ni osa | bu[t]a ni far buta dentro delo porto arcuna | sporc]ita e d'e saora n'izeto sot[ame]n 'd,a? de p'er,p'eri, | . . . CC [i]n arbitrio d e Meser [il Pod]esta e | dai g]uvernani asignai alo r[e]pairo [de]lo dett]o po[r]to. MCCCC? Georgius Panormius [no]tarius curie Chii scripsit.

The inscription is in Genoese dialect<sup>1</sup> except for the signature of the *notarius curiae*.<sup>2</sup> It prohibits the throwing of filth or ballast into the harbour on pain of fine,<sup>3</sup> and must therefore be written in language intelligible to seamen<sup>4</sup>: so a Chian decree in Latin of 1488, is ordered to be proclaimed: 'publice vulgari sermone in platea bancorum et aliis locis consuetis.'<sup>5</sup> The harbour of Chios was constantly in danger of becoming

<sup>1</sup> For the dialect see Casaccia, *Vocabulario*. Notable here are the infinitive in -a of a-verbs, *butà* for *butare* (= *scattare*) and omission of *t* between vowels (*decretao* mod. *decretou* for *decretato*). Specimens of similar date are given by Pagano, *Genovesi nella Grecia*, p. 310, *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 125 doc. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> For this officer see Hopf-Vlastos, p. 95. The *governanti* are the twelve *gubernatores*, *ib.* p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> For the perper (*ὑπέρπερον*) see Mas-Latrie, *Bibl. Ec. Chartes*, ser. i. vol. v. 121 ff. About this period it seems to have been equivalent to two *grossi*.

<sup>4</sup> Pagano, *loc. cit.* p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

silted up, partly owing to a torrent which debouched into it: the silting became so serious in 1488 that ships loaded by preference in Porto Delfino and legislation was necessary to divert them. The process continued in Turkish times, and in the seventeenth century the torrent, which had been canalized and diverted by the Genoese, again flowed into the harbour.<sup>1</sup> It is now cut off by the new quays, though its bed (dry except after rain) can still be seen in the picturesque quarter of the town



FIG. 7.—CONSTANTINOPLE. RELIEF (No. 9) FROM CHIOS. (?)

called 'Αλβάνικα,<sup>2</sup> where it runs underground and is conveyed outside the harbour by a channel built by the Compagnie des Quais.

9. Grey marble block, 0.50 × 0.65 × 0.22 m. now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople,<sup>3</sup> bearing reliefs of (1) standing figure of S. Dominic with nimbus, holding in right hand branch of lily (*centre*), column, (2) arms of Giustiniani in garnished shield: all within a moulded frame (Fig. 7).

<sup>1</sup> *See Sacra*, p. 5, where the harbour is spoken of as 'riempito da una torrente che vi sbocca.' A recent attempt to restore the παλαιὸς ὁχετός is mentioned by Karavás, *Τοπογρ. τῆς Χίου*, 1856, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> The 'Farmers' quarter,' from 'Αλβάνης, a shoeing smith.

<sup>3</sup> I owe the illustration to the never-failing courtesy of the Directors.



The exact provenance is unknown, as the block belongs to the *ancien fonds* of the Museum and has no inventory number. The arms are, however, sufficient to assign it to Chios or one of the dependencies of the Giustiniani<sup>1</sup>; the date, from the arms, must be later than 1413 and should probably be placed as late as the middle of the century, the coarse 'native?' workmanship notwithstanding, on account of the treatment of the shield. S. Dominic was probably the patron not only of the church in the citadel, but of one of the towers. Similarly, reliefs of S. Nicolas, S. Bartholomew, and S. Michael record the dedication to them of towers at Galata.<sup>2</sup>

**10\*** The following inscription is given by Targioni-Tozzetti in his account of Cyriac of Ancona with the comment '*in ultimo del mio Codice si leggono i seguenti versi forse dettati di Ciriaco*'<sup>3</sup> and reproduced by Rhodokanakes<sup>4</sup> as copied from the walls of Chios by Cyriac:—

Inclitis *Maonensium* Amplissimo ex Ordine Viris,  
*Chii* Asianae huius in Egeo insignis Insulae  
 Clarissimis fortissimisque Principibus,  
 Qui Tropaeophori *Georgi, Hysidorique* SS. Martyrum  
 Numinibus auspicantibus Divis, eximia eorum  
 virtute, Insulam hanc ipsam, & Civit. praecl.  
 plurifariam dudum a Barbaris lacessitam,  
 hodio<sup>5</sup> demum *Raphaele Montalto* Dictatore Cl. in-  
 festissima *Venetum* Classis incursione fortiter  
 strenueque propulsando, sublata, non modo  
 tutarunt, quin & melius restitutam, turrit.<sup>5</sup>  
 & triplici vallo munitis ampliatisque  
 moenibus insigniter propugnarunt, *Chienses* voti sui  
 compotes A.D. MCCCCXXXII. XVI. Kal. Febr.  
*Eug. IIII. PP. Anno Primo. K.A.*

That the above is indeed a composition of Cyriac's is clear both from the signature *K.A.* and from the style, which is exactly that of the Galata

<sup>1</sup> This is not, however, absolutely final, since members of the family might be appointed to foreign consulates, as Battista Giustiniani to Caffa in 1473, where his arms occur (*Mem. Odessa Soc.* vii. 281, Fig. 5).

<sup>2</sup> *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 323, S. Nicolas; 330, S. Bartholomew, cf. E. D. Clarke's *Travels*, ii. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Viaggi in Toscana*, v. 427.

<sup>4</sup> P. 77 and *ἐκτ. σηνμ.* 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic.*

inscription composed by him for Baldassare Marrufo and still extant,<sup>1</sup> and of the Thasian inscription now known, like the present, only from the papers of Cyriac.<sup>2</sup> Whether the Chian inscription was ever set up must remain obscure. The siege referred to is that celebrated in verse by Andriolo Giustiniani, a personal friend of Cyriac's. S. George is the patron of Genoa<sup>3</sup> as S. Isidore (martyred here under Decius) of Chios: the church of S. Isidore is still a venerated place, though the body of the saint was stolen by the Venetians in the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup>

The old guns in the castle (exclusive of Turkish, which are mostly of the eighteenth century) are as follows:—

(a) Near tower G, fine brass gun, broad spiral flutes on chase, no dolphins, crowned L and arms of Milan and France quarterly, in relief on reinforce, figure subject in relief on breech, no cascade.

The arms refer to Louis XII. of France, Duke of Milan (and Genoa) 1500–12.<sup>5</sup>

\*(b) Long brass gun inscribed CAPITAN. ANDRONICO DESPINOSA NATVRAL DE RODI MDLIII. (Seen by Newton in 1853).<sup>6</sup>

(c) On tower A, brass gun (now broken in two) with relief-work, trees, etc., at chase, reinforce and butt. On reinforce, arms of Spain in relief: below, engraved in cartouche, IN NAPOLI | A.D. 1573; on base-ring (engraved)  $\overset{\text{A}}{\text{P}} \overset{\text{A}}{\text{C}}$  (*Pesanza Centinaia*?) XXX  $\overset{\text{O}}{\text{R}}$  40.

(d) On tower F, iron *pierrier* with lion of S. Mark, date MDCLXXXIV, and founder's initials T—W.<sup>7</sup>

(e) Near tower G, two brass Venetian guns, one dated 1689.

(d) and (e) are evidently part of the armament abandoned by the Venetians in 1695.

(f) Iron English gun with script cypher G.R., possibly from the

<sup>1</sup> *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 330, Inscr. 27, cf. *ib.* p. 951.

<sup>2</sup> Colucci, *Ant. Picene*, XV. cxxxiii.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 171. Chiote vessels flew the flag of S. George even after the Turkish conquest (Fynes Moryson, *Itinerary*, II, 86 (1596), 'This Island hath Saint George for their protecting Saint, and beares his crosse on their Flags as England doth': and Stochove, in 1631, writes that by ancient privilege the cross was still flown from the castle at that date (*Voyage*, p. 201).

<sup>4</sup> See below, No. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Coins struck by him for Chios have recently come to light (*Riv. Ital. di Num.* i. 13).

<sup>6</sup> *Travels*, i. 215. The gun was probably Maltese.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Woolwich Museum, No. 80, Tower, 112, 113. Marion, *Recueil des Bouches à feu*, Pl. 109.

Greek brig under Capt. Thomas, which took part in the siege of 1827.<sup>1</sup>

§ 3.—VARIOUS ECCLESIASTICAL AND DOMESTIC MONUMENTS.

**11.** (Z. p. 299 6, Pl. II. 6) On the citadel wall above tower J lies a white marble sarcophagus, 2·07×0·70×0·70 m. Fig. 8 : the face is bordered by classical mouldings, inside which is a curved panel 0·72×0·30 m., flanked by defaced eagles (crest of Giustiniani?). On the panel is an inscription in Latin characters pierced at their extremities for keying in metal:—

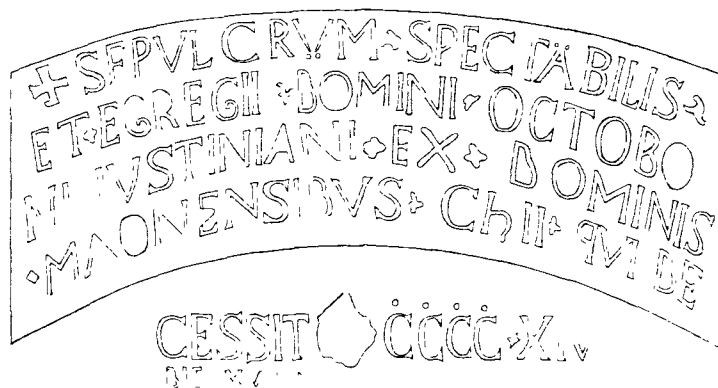


FIG. 8.—CHIOS: INSCRIPTION (No. 10).

† Sepulcrum spectabilis | et egregii domini Octoboni Iustiniani ex dominis | Maonensibus Chii qui de- (continued below panel) -cessit [M] CCCCXIV | die XVI M[aii] ?]

The M in the date has been cut away to adapt the sarcophagus for the trough of a fountain. An incomplete copy of the inscription is given by Vlastos.<sup>2</sup> Ottobuono Campi-Giustiniani commanded for Genoa against Ventimiglia in 1410.<sup>3</sup> He is probably the Capitaneus (1401) and Syndic (1402) of Pera mentioned in *Rev. Or. Lat.* iv. 89–96.

**12\*** (Z. p. 299 (7) Pl. II.) The family chapel of this branch of the Giustiniani is commemorated by an inscription seen by Zolotas in the

<sup>1</sup> Finlay (MS. Journal), 'The Turks can boast of some guns of the Greek brig commanded by Captain Thomas that went on shore during the siege . . . they are now [1853] mounted on the rampart.'

<sup>2</sup> ii. 227 (31): also in Bent, p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> Hopf, 339.

castle, built in, reading Cap[ita] spectabilis domini | Ottoboni Justiniani  
et heredum suorum MCCCC | XXX.

**13\*** Fragment of marble sarcophagus, Paspates, *Χιακὸν Γλωσσάριον*,  
p. 423 (63).

VS MDXXXII . . . us MDXXXII.  
I'VS'D'BATTISF . . . (quondam) d[omi]ni) Battis(te).

In line (2, read I for S and E for F.

**14** (a). *Loc. cit.* (65). OPVS PETRI

**14** (b). „ (64) DE FLORENTIA<E>.

These inscriptions were engraved on two white marble blocks  
(1.37 x .60 m., perhaps originally supports of a balcony, now used as gate-  
posts at the new barracks (Fig. 9).  
The letters have been defaced but can  
be traced by the punch-marks. A  
Piero da Firenze worked at Perugia  
in 1463.<sup>1</sup>

By the courtesy of the Governor  
I was this year allowed access to the  
chief Mosque (Eski Djami) in the  
citadel, which was formerly a Genoese  
church. Practically nothing, however,  
remains of the church except possibly  
the campanile, now used as a minaret.  
The floor is boarded over, and the  
only recognizable Genoese remains  
are the lower part of an octagonal  
pulpit and the two southern of the four  
columns<sup>2</sup> which support the roof:  
these rest on high square bases with  
panels carved in low relief with deli-  
cate leaf designs, but much painted: one panel has conventional crossed  
torches. A fragment of a similar base exists in the Museum. In the  
porch and in the court of the mosque respectively, are the two following  
fragmentary inscriptions:—



FIG. 9.—CHIOS: ARCHITECTURAL DETAIL.  
(No. 14*b*.)

<sup>1</sup> Burckhardt-Bode, *Cicerone* (1904), ii. 135.

<sup>2</sup> The northern pair, and, I suspect, the capitals of all, are of wood.

**15.** Marble slab, 0.09 × 0.45 m., letters 0.055 m., triangular stops :—

ETV3·Γ° /,T·4·FEBR̄T̄I·IS

... ? Carr]etus posuit 4 Feb rua)rii 15 ...

**16.** Blue marble slab, formerly cover to vault, 0.69 × 0.67 m. inscribed round edge in thin, badly-cut letters 0.055 m high (Fig. 10).

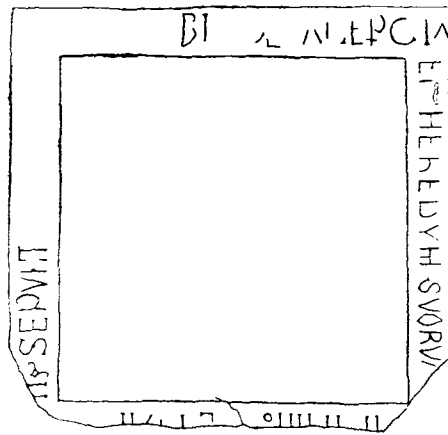


FIG. 10.—CHIOS : INSCRIPTION (NO. 16) IN THE CHADEL MOSQUE

**16 (b).** Left of the door of the mosque is the following inscription in Turkish which may be thought worthy of this admittedly imperfect publication<sup>1</sup> for its historical interest :—

تاریخ ولادت عیسی (علیه السلام) طقوز یوز طقسان اوچنده بو کسه نیک  
بنای اولوب و تاریخ مرگوت (?) بیک بش یوز التمش التی آپرملک اون  
یدبسنده و غیرت محمد مصطفی (صلی الله علیه و سلم) تاریخک طقوز  
یوز یتمش اوچی رمضانک برمی التنجی کوننده عالی عثمانلی سلطان سلیمان  
بن سلیم خانک قیددان پیله پاشا یدی پاره قادی الله کلوب ساگری فتح  
ایدوب مذکور کسه جامع اولوب نماز قلندی الحمد لله

<sup>1</sup> I took it down phonetically from the dictation of my guide, a Cretan sergeant. Dr. Karl Sussheim has since been kind enough to transcribe it, correcting obvious errors.

"In the year of the birth of Jesus (on whom be peace) 993 the foundation of this church was laid, and in the year of the aforesaid 1566 the seventeenth of April, which is the year of the zeal [? prophecy] of Mohammed Mustafa (on whom be blessing and peace) 973 the twenty-sixth of Ramazan, Piale Pasha, the admiral of the glorious Ottoman Sultan Suleiman Khan, son of Selim, came with seven sail of galleys and took Chios; and the church aforesaid became a mosque and prayer was made. Praise be to God."

April 17 is the date given by Bosio; 1566 is the year Suleiman the Magnificent died, and many authors<sup>1</sup> assign the taking of Chios to the reign of Selim II., his son. At the taking of the city all the churches in the citadel except that of the Dominicans were turned into mosques.<sup>2</sup>

**17.** Opposite the smaller mosque (Bairakli Djami), which is now a shapeless ruin, is a fragment of white marble broken all round (extreme measurements 0·25 × 0·28 m.), and inscribed in letters 0·03 m. high:—



This mosque, shewn as a church in the *Acquisto* map, probably occupies the site of the church of S. Dominic, later S. Maria di Castello<sup>3</sup>: the Cathedral was dedicated to S. Antony.<sup>4</sup>

**18.** \*Inscription formerly in the church of S. Dominic in the citadel, now known only through Jerome Justinian's copy<sup>5</sup>:—

Hic jacet Joannes Justinianus, inclitus vir, ac Patricius Genuensis, Sciique Maonensis, qui in Cōstantinopolis expugnatione à Principe Turcarum Mehemet Serenissimi Constantini Orientalium ultimi Christianorum Imperatoris magnanimus Dux electus, vulnere accepto interiit anno à partu Virginis M.III.V.VIII. Kalend. August.

This is the tomb of the famous Giovanni Giustiniani whose wound was the immediate cause of the fall of Constantinople. His life is given at length by Rhodokanakes.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Thevet, *Cosmog. Univ.* i. 237.

<sup>2</sup> J. Palaeologi *epistola* (1573).

<sup>3</sup> *Descr. de l'Isle de Scio*, 1606, ii. 96; *Scio Sacra*, 48: copied with slight variations by A. Vlastos (*Χιακά*, ii. 96), Paspates, *Χιακὸν Γλωσσάριον*, 422 (62), who had it from Dethier, and Rhodokanakes, p. 146.

<sup>4</sup> *Scio Sacra*, 21.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 18, quoting Lupazzolo.

19. Z. p. 289. Pl. I. 2. In Museum: two fragments of white marble slab, 0.09 m. thick, 0.64 m. high, said to be from the castle. The fragments bear portions of an inscription in commonplace lettering, the *i*'s dotted, within a deep moulded frame. There is no point of contact.

a) HIC IACET L	b) RIN VSEPS
CHIENSISQV	IEXTRVXIT
ORNAVITDO	LEONAR
DODICAVIT.	I

A probable restoration is:—

Hic jacet L[eonardus Balsa]rinus [episcopus]  
 Chiensis qu[i hanc capella]m extruxit  
 ornavit do[navit et Sancto] Leonar-  
 do dicavit a[nno . . . . .] I

Leonardus Balsarinus, a native of the island, was bishop of Chios from 1691 till the occupation by the Venetians, and fled with them on their retirement. He afterwards became Archbishop of Corinth and actually died at Nauplia in 1700, so that the present monument must have been a cenotaph.<sup>1</sup>

20. Modern Latin Cathedral S. Nicolas. The Tabernacle (Pl. X.) is a block of grey marble 1.20 × 0.62 × 0.50 m. The back is inscribed:—

HOC SACRAE EUCARISTIE TABERNACULUM FIERI FE  
 CIT IOHANNES ANTONIVS IUSTINIANVS D. BARTH. MCCCCLXII

Hoc sacrae eucaristie tabernaculum fieri fecit Iohannes Antonius Iustinianus (quondam) domini Bartholomaei MCCCCLXII.<sup>2</sup>

The dedicator is Giovanni Antonio Campi-Giustiniani.<sup>3</sup>

The front of the tabernacle is sculptured in relief with an ogival crocketed niche flanked by twisted Corinthian columns, which stand on a projecting sill supported by corbels and foliage. The centre of the space

<sup>1</sup> Lequen, in. 890; cf. G. B. de Burgo, *Itag.*, iv, i. 325; Garzoni, 541; cf. Rhodokanakes, p. 692.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is given in Zolotas' *Προσθήκαι*, p. 521 and Fig. 5.

Hopf, *Chion. G.-R.*, p. 515, tab. 2, see below, no. 28.

thus framed is occupied by a modern silver repoussé door: above and below are cherubs, at the sides standing angels. The tympanum is filled by a throned Christ with a background of radiating late-gothic panels. Above the arch, which is not cut free, are small vertical panels, the columns being surmounted by erect figures, left, the angel of the Annunciation, and right, the Virgin. A very similar piece of work is to be found in the third north chapel of S. Maria del Castello at Genoa.

**21.** In a vestry of the same church is a low relief in marble of poor, flat work, representing the Virgin half-length seated with the Child on her lap, under a shell canopy (Fig. 11). The donor kneels at the lower left-hand corner. The influence of Byzantine painting is marked:<sup>1</sup> the relief may have been executed by a local artist at the end of the Genoese period or later.



FIG. 11.—RELIEF OF THE VIRGIN IN THE LATIN CATHEDRAL.

**23.** In the Museum. Circular boss or roundel of marble Pl. X., diameter 0.50 m., thickness 0.22 m., with relief of the Virgin half-length, three-quarter face to l., holding Child on right arm: the whole within a cable border. The figure of the Child especially is ill-proportioned, the whole work clumsy and without charm.

**24.** (Z. p. 297, 43, Pl. IX.) Built into ruined (Latin) church of S. Michael in *Parocchia* or *Ligaridis*, opposite cathedral, fragment of white marble 0.78 m. long, with inscription:—

IGD OLA'DvANIIvETvHEREDv  
NN. de Am?]igdola d(omini) Anii et heredu(m)

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting in this connection to note the counter-influence of Genoese sculpture on Chios. Not only does the island possess (like the other Aegean islands and coast-towns) many elaborately carved wooden chancel-screens, but relief sculpture in marble is much practised. Many private houses have marble tablets with more or less elaborate devices built into their fronts, and even in churches, more latitude than is usual in orthodoxy is shewn towards reliefs of religious subjects: of these the local efforts are, needless to say, entirely devoid of artistic merit, being merely Byzantine eikon-types rudely translated into flat relief.



**25.** At the opening of road from Karyés into *Bouvnáki*, west side of street, built into wall supporting railing, front of sarcophagus, 1.61 × 0.40 m., decorated with two kite-shaped shields, bearing Giustiniani arms, flanking a circle with 'revolving star' pattern (Fig. 12).



FIG. 12.—SARCOPHAGUS FRONT WITH GIUSTINIANI ARMS (No. 25).

**26.** Built into same wall, round corner: panel 0.50 × 0.43 m. with shield of Giustiniani (Fig. 13).



FIG. 13.—ARMS OF GIUSTINIANI (No. 26).

**27.** (Z. p. 295 (1).<sup>1</sup>) In the Latin archbishop's garden; white marble slab broken in the middle: a small piece only is lacking. Left half measures 0.53 × 0.38 m., right 0.52 × 0.38 m.: letters 0.045 m. (Fig. 14)

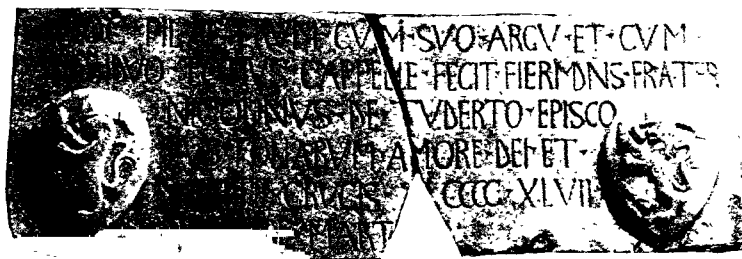


FIG. 14.—INSCRIPTION OF NICOLAUS DE TUDERTO (No. 27).

<sup>1</sup> When Z. saw the stone it was unbroken

Hoc pilastrum cum suo arcu et cum | residuo totius cappelle fecit fieri  
d'omi)n(u)s frater | Nicolinus de Tuderto episcopus Foliarum amore Dei  
et | sante crucis [M]CCCCXLVII | de mense Mart[io].

The bishopric mentioned is that of Old and New Phocaea; both towns (especially the latter) were closely connected with the Genoese of Chios.<sup>1</sup>

Nicolaus de Tuderto of the Order of Preachers held the see 1427-1450.<sup>2</sup>

**28.** *Ibid.* Seven large fragments of a white marble grave-relief with inscription below (Pl. X.). The monument, which measured when entire 1'95 m. × 0'94 m., represents three half-length female figures beneath a round arch with leaf decoration in spandrels. The elegiac inscription in letters 0'25 m. high occupies a panel about 0'70 in height below the figures. The left-hand lower corner of the relief and the corresponding upper corner of the inscription are missing. Beneath the inscription are the arms of Giustiniani. The work is evidently Italian.

... peregit

... q(ue) qui(n)q(ue) [omnes abripuere?] dies  
G]racia Garor(um) cl[ara? de sangu]i(n)e creta  
Iustinia(n)o oli(m) ju(n)cta [Ma]ria viro.  
Domi(ni)ci antistes Divi ven(e)randa soror(um)  
Co(n)didit hoc tum(u)lo la(n)guida me(m)bra brevi:  
Qui sibi p(er) cu(n)ctos sociisq(ue) sororib(us) annos  
His certa titulis lege dicatus erit.  
Iustinia(n)e, tua, Antoni, c(st) pia cura, Iohannes  
Marmor(e) quod tegimur hoc, Catocina, tua.

The inscription<sup>3</sup> probably commemorates three members of the Campi-Giustiniani family. Giovanni Antonio Campi, dedicator of the tabernacle, married Catochina Longo, and had a sister Maria who also married a Giustiniani.<sup>4</sup> The date is probably about 1475.

**29.** The tricks of lettering are so similar to those of the Museum fragment (Z. 294 (33) Pl. VIII.) that the inscriptions must be ascribed to

<sup>1</sup> See Hopf, *Giustiniani*, and Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Φωκαϊκά*.

<sup>2</sup> Lequien, *Oriens Christianus*, iii. 1079. M. Pierre Agius, the archivist of the Latin community, informs me that the family of *de Todi* is known to the Chian records and survives in Smyrna.

<sup>3</sup> Zolotas, *Προσθήκαι*, 519 and Fig. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Hopf, *Chron. G.-R.* 515.

the same hand. The inscription of the fragment was also in elegiac verse, and a few words can be made out: (l. 1) . . . usque Ioh[annes], (l. 2) Iusti]nia nie u . . . l. 3 . . . t secula . . . , l. 4 . . . ger e . . . , l. 5 ? ce]rta . . . .

**30.** Z p. 295 (4 Pl. I.). White marble slab, 0.40 × 0.87 × 0.09 m., with arms of Giustiniani twice and inscription in mixed letters 0.325 high. This was seen and copied by Z. at the Latin archbishopric but has been damaged by being built into a well-head in the garden. Some letters are now concealed (Fig. 15).

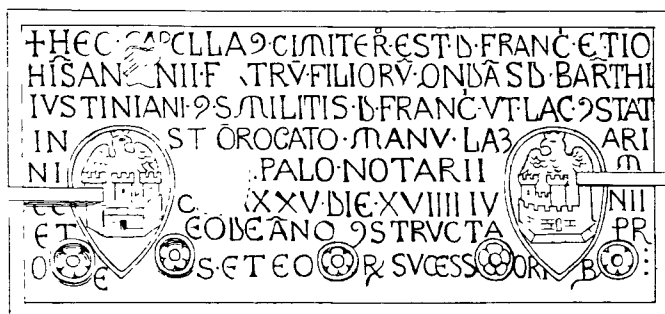


FIG. 15.—INSCRIPTION (No. 30).

+ H(a ec capella (cum) cimiter'io, est d[ominorum] Franc'isci et Io | h'ann'is An[to]nii f[ra]trum, filioru(m) q'uo,nda'm) s'pectabilis, d'omini | Barth'olomae,i | Iustiniani, q'uondam) s'pectabilis, militis Fran'cisci ut(i) | ac (con)stat, instr(ument)o rogato<sup>1</sup> manu Lazarini [de R]apalo notarii | M | CCC[XX]XXXV die XVIII Iunii | et eodem an(n)o (con)structa pro eis | et eor(um) successorib(us).

The persons referred to are Francesco (*d.* before 1495) and Giovanni Antonio (*d.* 1511) Campi-Giustiniani, sons of Bartolommeo, and grandsons of the Knight and Count-palatine Francesco (1371–1435).<sup>2</sup> The notaries Genesisio and Ambrogio da Rapallo are known from documents,<sup>3</sup> L. de Rapallo in one of Pera.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rogato* is Italian rather than Latin for 'signed,' 'attested.'

<sup>2</sup> Hopf, 515, Rhodokanakes, 755.

<sup>3</sup> *Byz. Zeit.* xi. 327.

<sup>4</sup> *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 334 (xxxi).

**31.** (Z. p. 292. (27) Pl. VII.) In Museum : fragment of white marble (0.26 x 0.53 m.) bearing in Latin characters 0.025 m. high, the inscription :—

CAPITIS SSEPHIPTOMKI

... capitis S'ancti) Steph(an)i p(ro)tom(a)rt'yris)

Below is a roughly carved cherub (Fig. 16).

This fragment is the lower portion of the framing of a tabernacle : the inscription was probably completed by some such words as *Hoc est reliquiarium*<sup>1</sup> on the upper part of the frame.

The skull of S. Stephen was sent from Italy by Cardinal Vincenzo Gius-tiniani to the Dominicans of Chios on their expulsion by the Turks from their church in the citadel<sup>2</sup> and consequent removal to that of S. Sebastian 'in Paleo Castro.'<sup>3</sup>

**32.** (Z. p. 298 (51), Pl. X.) At the Government House, white marble cover to vault 0.54 m. square, broken at two corners, bearing the arms of Lercari<sup>4</sup> on polygonal shield within wreath of olive (Fig. 17). Round the border runs the inscription (letters 0.04 m.) :—



FIG. 16.—FRAGMENT OF RELIQUARY (No. 31).



FIG. 17.—INSCRIPTION AND ARMS OF LERCARI (No. 32).

Sep(ul)crum Franc(isc)i | Lercar[ji et | he]redu(m) suo[ru]m. MDXVIII.

<sup>1</sup> A similar tabernacle at South Kensington has *Hic est locus reliquiarum*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably after 1599, since we have seen that they had still a church in the citadel in 1578.

<sup>3</sup> *Scio Sacra*, 145, cf. Rhodokanakes, 441.

<sup>4</sup> Or, three bars, gu.

**33.** (Z. p. 290 (13), Pl. III. 13.) White marble block 0·14 × 0·46 × 0·11 m., with left half of *tabula ansata* bearing inscription in plain letters (17th c.?), with dotted *i*'s, 0·02 m. high :—

QVÆ PRIVS EXTITERI  
LENTISCI LACRYMI  
NEC MIRVM SERVIRE  
LVX ANIMI HIC ORI

Quae prius extiteri[nt per campum umore carentes  
Lentisci lacrymi[s deliquere novis.  
Nec mirum : servire . . .  
Lux animi hi[n]c orit[ur.

This stone was found according to Z. near the tanneries to the north of the town. In this neighbourhood is the church and sacred well of S. Isidore of Chios, martyred under Decius, to whom the fragmentary epigram refers. It was said that the mastic of Chios, once an important article of commerce, first liquefied at the martyrdom of the saint.<sup>1</sup> I have attempted to restore the general sense of the first couplet.

The body of the saint was carried off by the Venetians in the twelfth century and is now in S. Mark's. The head remained in the island till 1627, when it also was stolen by a Venetian and deposited with the body.<sup>2</sup> The church in Chios, now ruined, is described by J. Justinian (1606) as 'tout rond par le dedans, & fait à la Mosayque.'<sup>3</sup>

**34.** (Z. p. 295 (1) and Pl. I. 3, cf. Προσθήκαι, 573.) Marble slab (front of sarcophagus) with inscription in *tabula ansata* (Fig. 18), built into house of Patronas in street called Ἀτσική, and copied by Kanellakes for

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Acta SS.* May 15th, p. 446 . . . pedibus equo alligatur et per asperas et montanas creptitudines distrahitur : moxque virtute divina in ipso loco per quem tractus est aculei et spinæ in arbores gummi mastiches diffuentes conversæ sunt : et in testimonium eius martyrii manant usque in praesens, etc. A later version of the legend, that the mastic first solidified after the martyrdom of S. Isidore, is cited as current at Chios in his day by M. Giustiniani in *L. Chiensis, De Vera Nobilitate*, p. 111, cf. L. Allatii, *de Graecorum Opinionibus*, xxviii. H. Blunt, *Voyage*, 1637, p. 29, Rhodokanakes, 532-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Scio Sacra*, 195, Rhodokanakes, 66, 183, 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. de Chio*, iii. 47.

Paspates (*op. cit.* p. 425, No. 68) and by Finlay (1853) in his *Journal*: the latter apparently saw it in a church.<sup>1</sup>

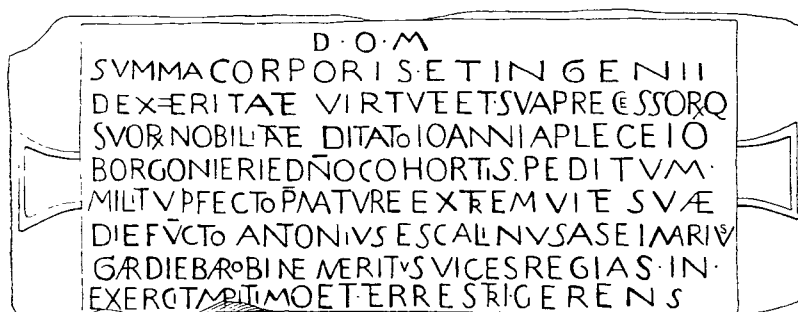


FIG. 18.—INSCRIPTION (No. 34).

D(eo) O(ptimo) M(aximo)

Summa corporis et ingenii | dexteritate virtute et sua precessor(um)q(ue) | suor(um) nobilitate ditato, Ioanni a Pleceio | Borgonierie (?) d(omi)no, cohortis peditum | militu(m) p(re)fecto, p(re)mature extrem(o) vite suae | die fu(n)cto, Antonius Escalinus Aseimarius (*sic*) | Gardie baro b(ene) meritis (*sic*) vices regias in | exercitu maritimo et terrestri gerens.

Antoine Escalin des Aimars, Baron de la Garde, was captain of the galleys of France under Francis I. and Henry II.<sup>2</sup> Concerting with a Turkish fleet under Dragut, he wintered at Chios with 26 French galleys in 1552–3.<sup>3</sup> I can find no mention of Joannes a Pleceio (Duplessis?).<sup>4</sup>

**35.** In Museum (Z. p. 290 (9), Pl. III). White marble 0·24 × 0·45 m., with inscription in rough Roman letters 0·35 m. high :—

CAPELA 9 SEPVL	Capel(l)a (cum) sepul-
CRO · 9 · DANTONII	cro (quondam) d(omini) Antonii
DE BOSOLO · 7 · ERE	de Bosolo (et) ere-
DV SVO <sub>4</sub> 1492	du(m) suo(rum) 1492.

Cf. below, No. 59.

<sup>1</sup> f. 81 verso. 'Visited Greek and Latin churches, see Latin inscription on opposite page.'

<sup>2</sup> For particulars of his life, 1498–1578, see Firmin-Didot, *Biogr. Universelle*, s.v. Paulin; J. Chesneau, *Voy. de M. d'Aramon*, ed. Schefer, p. 154 note.

<sup>3</sup> De Thou, *Hist. Sui Temporis* (Genevae, 1620), p. 373; E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, ii. 237, 253; *Voy. de M. d'Aramon*, p. 153.

<sup>4</sup> Other Frenchmen, who died of wounds and sickness incurred during the Duke of Cleves' unsuccessful assault on Mytilene (1501) and were buried in the Franciscan church at Chios, are

**36.** Z. 297 '45, Pl. IX.) Garden of M. Harémis: coarse marble block 1·08 × 0·56 m., probably fragment of sarcophagus (Fig. 19). It bears the arms of Giustiniani on a kite-shaped shield and remains of an inscription in Gothic letters:—



FIG. 19.—FRAGMENT OF SARCOPHAGUS  
(No. 36).

+ Eg[regius et reveren-?]  
dus . . .  
Nicol[aus . . .  
p'are)nt(?)  
. . . .  
MCCCC et laud . . .

The date was probably continued in a second line, the arms dating the inscription after 1413.<sup>1</sup>

**37.** The three fragments (Z. p. 290 (10, 11, 12), Pl. III.), now in the Museum, but said to have come from the castle, read more correctly:—

12. L]anf(r)ancus [et] (10) Rafael Pat-(11)erii MCCCC . . .

The R in *Lanfrancus* is represented by an abbreviation mark over the A. The persons referred to flourished 1416–36 and 1416–61 respectively.<sup>2</sup>

**38.** In private possession: Gothic capital white marble weathered brown, 0·225 m. square on abacus, 0·20 m. high. To one side is applied a shield bearing a lion rampant with a fesse over all (Fig. 20).

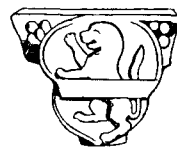
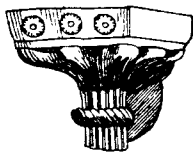


FIG. 20.—MARBLE CAPITAL WITH ARMS (No. 38).

mentioned in the *Chroniques* of Jean d'Auton (ed. Paris, 1889, ii. p. 196), 'Six jours entiers y [sc. a Syo] demeurèrent pendant lequel temps moururent le messire Jehan de Porcon seigneur de Beaumont. . . . Là mourut pareillement Blanquefort, Arzelles, et plusieurs autres, lesquelz furent enterrez dedans l'eglize des Cordelliers de Syo et sollempnellement servyz. Auquel lieu est pareillement ensepulturé feu Jacques Cueur [of Bourges, minister to Charles VII., d. 1456] dedans le milieu du cuer de ladite eglise.'

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> Hopf, *Chron. G.-R.* p. 525

**38†.** In private possession : large wooden crucifix of rude local work and late date : on foot :—

MIJE | SUCH | RISTE | CORRO | BORA | ILLUSTRISSIMUM |  
NICOLAUM | IVSTINIANEM (*sic*).

**39.** Kampos, garden of M. Karavás : white marble slab, 1·05 × 0·53 m., broken at right edge and badly at right lower corner ; letters 0·0325 m. (Fig. 21).

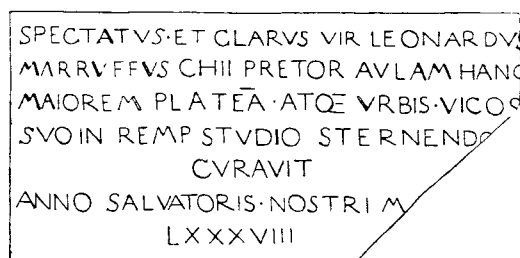


FIG. 21.—INSCRIPTION OF L. MARRUFO (No. 39).



FIG. 22.—ARMS OF MARRUFO (No. 41.)

Spectatus et clarus vir Leonardu[s] | Marruffus Chii pretor aulam  
han[c | maiorem platea(m) at(qu)e urbis vico[s | suo in remp[ublicam]  
studio sternend[os | curavit | anno Salvatoris nostri M[CCCC | LXXXVIII.

The inscription was published incorrectly by Paspates, *op. cit.* p. 426/69. For L. Marrufo cf. N. Reusner, *Epist. Turcic.* i. p. 230, and No. **40** below. There is in the Museum (Z. 294 (34), Pl. VIII.) a fragment of similar character and apparently referring to the same person, or to one of his family, to judge by -FVS in line 2.

**40.** Built in over door of house near the Greek cathedral opposite the Record Office (*Μνημνεῖον*) ; marble panel bearing arms of Marrufo, *gn. a rondel arg. charged with a bend az.*, with helmet, crest (demi-angel holding palm and scroll), and mantling (Fig. 22).

The Marrufo family intermarried frequently with the Giustiniani, and three of its members Oliverio (1423),<sup>1</sup> Guglielmo (1462),<sup>2</sup> and Leonardo

<sup>1</sup> Rhodokanakes, *Ἑκτ. Σημ.* p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



1488),<sup>1</sup> held the office of Podestà. The arms occur also at Pera, where Baldassare Marrufo was Podestà in 1446.<sup>2</sup>

**41.** (Z. 291 (17), Pl. V.) Marble slab in Museum (0.72 × 0.375 × 0.11 m.) with relief of squat and ill-proportioned draped female figure, three-quarter face to l., holding a snake in either hand (Fig. 23). The head and the greater portion of the shell-niche by which it was covered are missing. Below in sunk panel is her name in letters of diminishing size.

+DIALECA

Diale(cti)ca.



FIG. 23.—RELIEF OF DIALECTICA (No. 41).

This relief evidently formed part of a series representing the Seven Liberal Arts. The theme is derived ultimately from the allegory of Martianus Capella and was used not only in the Renaissance period but in the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> The short stature of Dialectica is prescribed by Capella, as is the snake in the *left* hand<sup>4</sup>: the symbols borne in the right by his Dialectica (tablets concealing a hook) are not adapted to sculpture and are generally replaced by a second snake or other reptile symbolizing the tortuousness of dialectic. The relief may be a panel from the octagonal pulpit<sup>5</sup> of which the lower part survives in the mosque; the side measures 0.53 m., thus allowing a margin for framing the panels. One side of the octagon would naturally be omitted to give access to the pulpit; this leaves the other seven for the figures of the Liberal Arts.

**42\*.** 'Εν τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐπὶ παλαιοῦ προπυλαίου,' Vlastos, ii. 227 30).

<sup>1</sup> See above, No. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. Pl. XVII., XVIII.

<sup>3</sup> See E. F. Corpet in *Ann. Arch.* xvii. 89, 103 (cf. *ibid.* xiv. 30), who publishes a nineteenth-century commentary on Capella, and P. d'Ancona in *L'Arte*, v. 1902, 137 ff.

<sup>4</sup> P. 99, Eysenhardt.

<sup>5</sup> As at Siena and Pisa (d'Ancona, pp. 146, 213).

BOMBARDIS DOCTUS LEONARDUS DIDIT ALTHAEI  
LIMINA ET HUNC CLARUM CLARA RAGUSA TULIT

1427

This stone seems to have disappeared. By comparison with No. **43** below it is obvious that the date should be 1527, the occurrence of the mistake suggesting that the date was written MDXXVII, and that D was confused with Δ'. Hopf<sup>1</sup> takes the stone as evidence of Leonard's activity as engineer before the siege of 1431, presumably reading AETHALAE<sup>2</sup> for ALTHAEI, but if fortifications are meant, MOENIA is more appropriate than LIMINA; like No. **43** this stone probably belonged to a private house. On the analogy of the other stone ANDREAE may possibly be substituted for ALTHAEI though neither fits the verse.

A Chian artilleryman, Joannes Mastroleonardus, is mentioned by Vlastos (who does not quote his authority) as having killed Dragut Pasha before Malta in 1566.<sup>3</sup> The family of Dandree Ragusini, M. Agius informs me, is mentioned in the Latin registry of Chios.<sup>4</sup>

**43.** (Z. 289 (8), Pl. III.) Marble base in Museum, 0·115 × 0·32 × 0·32 m.: the front is worked as a base with projecting mouldings top and bottom, but these mouldings return only 0·05 m. along the sides, as if the block was designed to project that distance from a wall. On the face is the inscription in rough letters 0·02 m. high:—

+DOMVS MEONARDI DE RA6VXIA  
BONBARDERII ̃ DADREE MDXVI

+ Domus M(agistri) Leonardi de Raguxia  
bonbarderii q(uondam) domini) Andree 1516.

On the upper surface of the block is an irregular sinking for the incision of sculpture: the shape of this sinking suggests a seated animal, perhaps a lion, in punning allusion to the owner's name. For Leonard of Ragusa see above.

<sup>1</sup> P. 321, note 65.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v.

<sup>3</sup> *Χιολιά*, p. 74. I have consulted the chief authorities on the siege of Malta in vain, to check Vlastos' statement, which may of course depend on local tradition.

<sup>4</sup> A family Dandree is cited by G. B. de Burgo in his list of existing Genoese families in Chios (*Viaggi*, 1686).

## § 4.—SCULPTURED DOORWAYS.

The beautiful series of reliefs now to be described falls naturally into its place among the monuments of Genoese art.<sup>1</sup> The reliefs are all *sorraporte* or overdoors such as are common in the mother-city from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards. The later *sorraporte* of Genoa, which are carved with friezes taking up the whole block, are associated with the name and school of the Gaggini, a family of Lombard artists who executed much architectural and decorative work in marble at Genoa, notably the chapel of S. John the Baptist in the Cathedral, which was carried out by Giovanni and Domenico Gaggini between 1448 and 1457. Giovanni and his family remained in Genoa, Domenico migrated, probably by way of Naples, to Palermo, where he and his descendants of whom the most famous was Antonello, worked till late in the following century.<sup>2</sup>

The reliefs now in Chios, which we are naturally unable to attribute with certainty to any individual member of the Gaggini family, are as follows:—

**44.** At Santa, 1¼ hours from Chora on the Nichori road, built in over W. door of church of S. George *Νατζή Λουκῆ*: white marble<sup>3</sup> relief 0.45 × 1.60 m. framed by mouldings on top, left, and (originally) right sides, representing S. George in combat with the dragon: the left lower corner is damaged and restored in plaster, the relief has been slightly cut down at this end. The Saint is on horseback to left and wears Gothic armour: he attacks the dragon with lance. Right and left of him is a pictorial rocky background conventionally treated: on the left, above the dragon, the

<sup>1</sup> Hopf, p. 337, ed. Vlastos, p. 152) mentions that architects were imported from Genoa and that the arts generally flourished in Chios under the Maona. A contract, dated 1464, between Michelozzo Michelozzi and two members of the Giustiniani family, is published in *Giorn. Lit.* 1883, 457-60: it binds the architect to work for not less than six months in Chios at the rate of 300 sequins per annum. Cf. also below, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> L. A. Cervetto, *I. Gaggini da Bisson*, Milano, 1903; G. di Marzo, *I. Gaggini e la Scultura in Sicilia*, Palermo, 1880-4; L. Filippini, *Elia Gaggini da Bisson* in *L'Arte*, xi, 1908, 17-29.

<sup>3</sup> The marble generally used at Chios in the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries seems to have been Parian, the local marbles being coloured. Cyriac writing in 1446 to his friend Andriolo Giustiniani says, *Vidi ipse in Pario portu onustam jam navem exfolitis plerisque Pario ipso de lapide istis Chyensi praeforae Coloniae Vestrae ingenti decori et ornamento futuris* (Targioni-Tozzetti, v. 425): Thevet in 1551 says that Parian was the only marble used except the local (*Cosmez. du Levant*, p. 29). But Francesco da Bisson (see below, p. 174) seems to have brought marble (from Carrara?) with him.

rescued princess kneels in profile to right: on the right are represented the king and queen and their castle, below them the shepherd piping, with his dog and flock. Flanking the central composition are two standing figures in Roman armour supporting shields with arms of Giustiniani: outside of them are conventional trees. (Pl. XI.

**45.** Built in above the gate leading to the churchyard is a fragment from the right side of a similar relief of rather poor work, carved on a very thin slab of bluish marble (Fig. 24). The fragment includes only the arms of Giustiniani with crest a (demi-)angel, and mantling. M. Kanellakes, who saw many fragments of this relief which have since disappeared, and vainly

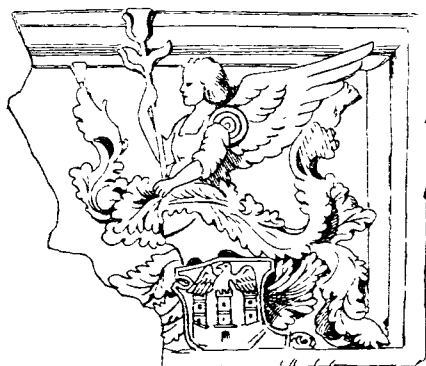


FIG. 24.—FRAGMENT OF LINTEL RELIEF (No. 45).



FIG. 25. UPPER BLOCK OF LINTEL RELIEF (No. 47).

tried to preserve them,<sup>1</sup> writes in the *Παρχιακή* of Feb. 1908, that the subject was the Annunciation. Two independent witnesses at Santa, however, declare that it was a S. George, and from Kanellakes' wording it seems that he may have mistaken the crest above the arms for the angel of the Annunciation.<sup>2</sup>

**46.** Two other reliefs of the same subject are preserved in the Museum. The first of these has been published (but not illustrated) by Zolotas (p. 292-321, Pl. VIII). It is of white marble and very large, measuring 0.73 × 2.00 × 0.05 m. It was built into the Greek Cathedral<sup>3</sup> before the

<sup>1</sup> I now hear that the fragments have reappeared and that they are to be replaced.

<sup>2</sup> *Τῶν τριῶν τετάρτων ἀπολεσθέντων ὑπολείπεται μόνον ὁ ἄγγελος.*

<sup>3</sup> Witmann, in 1802, noticed 'sculptures of Genoese workmanship in front of the churches' at Chios (*Travels*, p. 451).

earthquake, and is damaged at the left upper corner: the head of the horse is also mutilated (Pl. XI.). A break in the framing in the centre of the upper edge was evidently intended, as in many Genoese examples, for the addition of a small supplementary panel containing the crowned cypher of Christ.

[**47.** Such a panel in white marble, but unfortunately not belonging to this relief, exists in the Museum and is here figured (Fig. 25). The dimensions are  $0.37 \times 0.37 \times 0.12$  m.]

At the two ends of the relief are narrow compartments containing scrolls folded in conventional zig-zags about staves which are held at the top by hands. The scrolls are inscribed: (r., reading upwards) *HNX sic* | *DNS . EDI FICAV | ERIT D | OMVM*; (l., reading downwards, *IN VANV | LABORAV | ERVT . QVI | EDIFICAT | EAM*—(Nisi) *D(omi)n(u)s edificaverit domum in vanu(m) laboraveru(n)t qui edifica(n)t eam* (*Ps. cxxvii. 1.*). Abbreviation-marks, except in *DNS*, are omitted.

The centre of the relief proper is occupied by the figure of S. George attired in a corselet with quilted skirt, and loose trousers, helmet fitting closely to the head and flying cloak, and armed with shield and spear: he gallops to left stabbing the dragon 'overhand' with the lance held well forward. Before him the princess kneels full-face on a rock.

On either side are notched shields slightly sloped, bearing the arms of Giustiniani and surmounted by helmets and demi-angel crests. The angels hold scrolls inscribed (l.) . . . . *DOMVI* (r.) *Z OIB9 HABITANTIBVS I EA*:—[*pax huic*] *domui (et) (omnibus) habitantibus i(n) ea*.

The main design is separated from the heraldry by perpendicular bunches of mantling: between these and the shields are the initials *C.—I.* in relief, which, *C.* being a common initial, give no clue to the member of the family for whose house the relief was executed. The nearest Genoese parallels seem to be the relief of the Kann Collection and a relief (Pl. IX. B) still *in situ* at Genoa (Via Cannelto il Lungo).

**48.** The second of the Museum reliefs was in a church of S. George till it was thrown down by the earthquake: it is complete, though broken into five pieces, and of white marble (Pl. XI.). The measurements are  $0.34 \times 1.82 \times 0.11$  m. S. George, in very mixed armour, charges to left, thrusting at the dragon with the lance held well back, so that the right elbow appears behind the head. Before him, on a prominent rock, the

princess in profile, kneels on one knee, behind, a shepherd, crosslegged on a corresponding rock, pipes to his flock below. The main composition is flanked by two standing figures in debased Roman armour, holding spears with their outer and shields with their inner hands. The shields bear the arms of (l.) Giustiniani and (r.) Castelli (?). The composition is similar to that of the relief (44) though the work is very inferior, resembling in the lifeless clumsiness of the figures the South Kensington relief 7255.

The family of Castello bore *gu., a tower arg.*, but seems to have intermarried infrequently with the Giustiniani. I can find in Hopf's<sup>1</sup> table only one instance, that of Bartolommeo Castello who married *c.* 1440, Caterina Garibaldi-Giustiniani: this seems too early for the sculpture.

S. George, as the patron saint of the city, is a favourite subject in the Genoese series, the type being ultimately derived from the seal of the Bank of S. George. It is said that admirals who had distinguished themselves were privileged to set up such reliefs in commemoration of the banner of S. George, which was publicly presented to them at the opening of a campaign.<sup>2</sup> Of the S. George type Cervetto enumerates sixteen reliefs from Genoa and neighbourhood.<sup>3</sup> There are, further, two in South Kensington,<sup>4</sup> one at the Friedrich-Wilhelm Museum in Berlin,<sup>5</sup> and one formerly in the Kann Collection.<sup>6</sup> An altar-piece with the same subject, executed by Antonello Gagini in 1550, is in the Palermo Museum.<sup>7</sup>

Two distinct types are recognizable in this series of reliefs, (*a*) the earlier (*i.e.* the more Gothic) being represented by the fragment (45) and the Museum relief (46), and (*b*) the later by reliefs (44) and (48), which differ widely in workmanship but little in design. The characteristics of the earlier group are (1) great height in proportion to length, (2) addition of upper block with cypher of Christ, (3) development of heraldry at the expense of the main subject. In (*b*), the later group, the block is narrowed (to conform with the requirements of a classically-proportioned

<sup>1</sup> P. 508, table F. The family was, however, definitely connected with Chios and was represented there till late in the seventeenth century.

<sup>2</sup> A. Wismewski, *Hist. de la Banque de S. Georges*, pp. 39-40, cf. Cervetto, document XV. (payments 'pro lapide cum vexillo S. Georgii').

<sup>3</sup> I found one not enumerated in his list, *in situ* at Genoa, Via di Pié, 68.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 7255, 7256, 'attributed to Giovanni Gagini'; the former is of very inferior workmanship. No. 7256 is illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> W. Bode, *Ital. Plastik. (Hdbch. Kgl. Mus.)* p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> *Les Arts*, 1903, 2; *Catal. Kann Coll.* i. Pl. 43.

<sup>7</sup> Cervetto, *op. cit.* p. 217. The work gives its name to the Sala di S. Georgio at Palermo.

doorway?', the cypher of Christ is omitted, and the heraldic detail is limited, allowing more space for subsidiary figures in the main design. In detail, the heraldry of group (*a*) is exuberant, the shield is generally of the notched form (*à bouche*) and the crest is an important feature: in group *b* the crest and mantling are either cut down or dispensed with altogether in favour of a full-length figure supporting a shield of the '*testa di cavallo*' shape.

All the characteristics of group (*b*) are exhibited already in the lintel relief of the Palazzo Quartaro at Genoa, which was executed in 1457 by Giovanni Gaggini.<sup>1</sup>

**49.** Built into the churchyard wall of S. John the Baptist in Chora: white marble relief, 0.35 × 1.80 m., framed at top and sides by moulding (Pl. XI). The subject is the Annunciation: the centre of the field is occupied by a two-handled jar of lilies; left of this an angel kneels to right holding scroll on which is:—AVE GRATIA PLENA DNS TEC; above is a halo and I.H.S. Right of the jar of lilies the Virgin kneels to left before a Gothic lectern; above her is the dove flying, behind a Renaissance throne. Left and right of the composition are shields bearing the arms of Giustiniani with helmet, eagle-crest, and mantling. In the field of the shields are the letters S.A.I., perhaps the initials of Simone and Argentina Longhi-Ughetti Giustiniani (c. 1510).<sup>2</sup> The sculpture closely resembles that of the S. George at Santa (**44**).

**50.** At H. Phanourios (a chapel left of the road to Nea Mone a quarter of an hour below the monastery), over the west door is a stone relief of the same subject, but inferior in workmanship and preservation (Fig. 26). It measures 0.33 × 1.46 m. and has been broken across. The sculpture is in low relief on a slightly sunk field. The centre of the composition is occupied by a jar of three lilies flanked (l.) by the angel kneeling and (r.) by the Virgin also kneeling before a plain desk. Both heads have been defaced. Late inscriptions have been carved in relief in panels sunk in the field, (*a*) between angel and lilies ἀνέκενίσσι | ὁ θῖος κέ | ἱερὸς ναὸς | τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερομάρτυρος | Φανουρίου, (*b*) between lilies and

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Pl. IX. cf. also Pl. X. which is decidedly more Gothic in feeling.

<sup>2</sup> Hopf, *Chron. G.-R.* p. 517; the initials are a rare combination: the only other suitable married pair in Hopf's tables are Simone (d. 1472) and Argentina Longhi (p. 518, Tab. R), which seems too early for the sculpture.

desk διὰ δαπάνης | κὲ κόπου | Κλιμέντος | ἱερομονάχου | Μπαχαλίου, (c)  
on desk 1..3 | [Δεκ]εμβρίου 10. The composition is flanked by shields  
bearing griffins rampant (Fig. 27). That on the left is of very inferior  
work and bears the incised initials M-B in field. A griffin rampant was  
borne by several Genoese families, notably Castigliona, but none that can  
be definitely connected with Chios. The initials are probably no guide,  
as they seem to date from a late recutting of the left-hand shield.

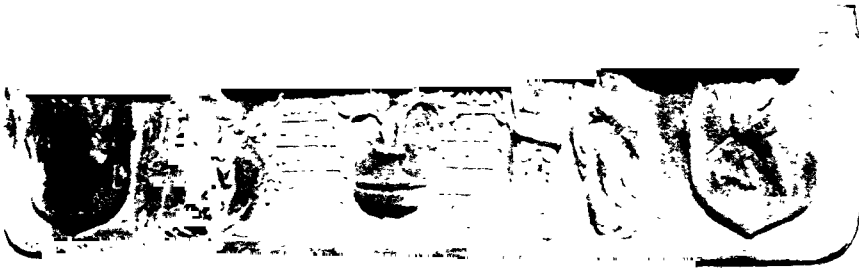


FIG. 26.—RELIEF OF THE ANNUNCIATION (No. 50).



FIG. 27.—DETAIL FROM  
No. 50.



FIG. 28.—FRAGMENT OF  
HERALDRY (No. 51).

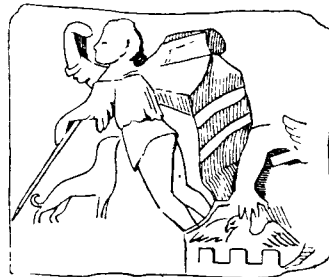


FIG. 29.—FRAGMENT OF CHIOTE  
RELIEF (No. 52).

**51.** A fragment of a white marble panel in the Museum (0·55 x 0·20 x 0·11 m.) preserves a portion of a shield with a similar bearing, beside it the letter **C** in relief and in the lower right-hand corner a cruciform monogram + **K P O H**. (Κύριε βοήθει? **P** for **B** is a common error in Byzantine monograms on seals.) (Fig. 28.)

Cervetto quotes two examples of this subject at Celle-Ligure, and a



relief in Genoa (Vico S. Sepolcro) is figured by Caesari<sup>1</sup>: there is another in the church of S. Maria di Castello,<sup>2</sup> Genoa, and a fifth at South Kensington.<sup>3</sup>

The Chian Annunciation relief (49) seems to be by the same hand as the S. George (44). A lack of crispness in the cutting (perhaps due partly to the coarse grain of the marble) is notable in both. The Annunciation, as we have seen, can be dated to 1510 or thereabouts, by the initials.

Two of the documents printed by Cervetto are contracts dated 1513 and 1514 between various members of the Giustiniani family and a marble-worker Francesco, son of Antonio da Bissone.<sup>4</sup> The latter may have been the son of Antonio Gaggini (and grandson of Domenico; certainly his surname connects him closely with the Gaggini workshops. In the second of the contracts mentioned, Francesco da Bissone engages himself to work for not less than a year *in Chios* for a certain Domenico Giustiniani, receiving a salary of three *scudi* per month and free lodging. It is at least possible that the Chian reliefs (44) and (49) are the outcome of this agreement.

**52.** In the gymnasium of Mytilene is preserved a plaster cast of a fragment from a similar relief, probably, to judge by the arms, from Chios<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 29). I was unable to find the original.<sup>6</sup> The fragment measures 0.34 × 0.26 m. and shews a shepherd in a short tunic leaning forward on his staff to left before a background of rocks: his left hand and arm rest on his staff, his right being raised to his face as if to shield his eyes. In the triangle, formed by his legs and the stick, is a dog standing to right and looking upwards. At the right lower corner is the upper part

<sup>1</sup> *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1908, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> Filippini, 25.

<sup>3</sup> No. 7254 (in *pietra nera*), illustrated in the *Burlington Magazine*, March, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* 165-7. The Giustiniani palace at Genoa on which this artist worked was unfortunately pulled down about 1850.

<sup>5</sup> The considerations brought forward on p. 150, note 1, have less weight in the case of domestic sculpture. The Maona never had much to do with Mytilene, the only connection I can find between the two islands being the marriage of Domenico Gattelus of Lesbos (1455-8) with Maria Longhi-Giustiniani. The Archbishop Leonard (though the contrary has been affirmed) was certainly not a member of the Giustiniani family, as he himself confesses ('humilibus parentibus egenisque ortus') in his *De Vera Nobilitate Tractatus*, p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> It was given to the gymnasium by Zacharias Altiparmakis, a master-mason of Ayasso, who, I am informed by the gymnasiarch, Dr. E. David, says that the original was found by Mr. Paton at Molivo (Methymna): Mr. Paton, however, knows nothing of it. [While this paper is in the press I find that the stone was seen by Conze built into the church of Panteleemon at Molivo (*Lesbos*, p. 23, Pl. XI. 1)]

of a shield bearing the arms of Giustiniani, which conceals the feet of the shepherd. The upper extremity of the shield is grasped by a hand (the arm is broken off at the elbow) evidently belonging to the right-hand 'supporter' of the composition. The central subject was probably the Nativity, the shepherd being a subsidiary figure on the upper level.<sup>1</sup> The subject is treated, apparently by a native artist under Genoese influence, in a coarse bluish-marble relief now built into the campanile of the hospital at Chios, possibly in (53) a very small and coarse fragment at the Museum shewing three figures, one holding a sword (the Magi?), advancing to left against an architectural background. This is figured in Zolotas' Pl. XXI. (3).<sup>2</sup>

**54.** Chalkiós, village one hour-and-a-quarter south of Chora, over south door of church (Panagia): relief representing the Triumphal Entry, flanked by arms of Giustiniani with helmet, eagle-crest, and mantling<sup>3</sup> (Pl. XII). The dimensions of the relief are 0·535 × 2·17 m. It was originally executed in two pieces<sup>4</sup> as is shewn by the bluish tinge of the left half. The central figure is that of Christ riding on an ass to right. Above the head of the ass two figures watch the procession from a tree. Left of the central figure is a small group of followers, balanced on the right by two figures who lay their garments in the way and a second group of elaborately dressed persons who advance to meet the procession. Behind these again a rocky background with castle indicates Jerusalem. The asymmetry of the composition is marked, and the break in the wing of the left eagle shews that a fragment of the left-hand half (the join has been patched together) is missing, and that the panels at the extremities of the relief have been introduced to fill the frame.

This, the last of the series of reliefs, is of rather inferior work and preservation, but represents a subject unknown to the Gaggini *sorraporte* of Genoa, and has the special interest that it is at least approximately, in its original setting.

The door-frame measures 2·00 m. to spring of arch, 2·90 m. to top of spandrel and 2·30 m. extreme breadth. Above it is a projecting cornice

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the attitude of the shepherd in the 'Nativity' overdoor (No. 221, 'Genoese of 1472') at South Kensington.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 531, where it is described as *τεμάχιον ἀναγλύφου ἀρχαίων χριστιανικῶν χρόνων*.

<sup>3</sup> A photograph of the doorway and relief with notes by Zolotas, has been published by Rhodokanakes, *Ἰουστινιάναι, Ἐκτενεῖς Σημειώσεις*, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The first ends with the left coat of arms.

with classical mouldings. The door-frame is ornamented with a series of mouldings running continuously round the sides and top of the doorway and returning inwards over the bases of the jambs. These bases are decorated with classical figure-reliefs in sunk panels: that on the left represents a satyr with thyrsos, that on the right a satyr and nymph. Inside the classical outer frame runs a continuous band of vine-tendrill pattern. Inside this again are inner jambs not original, up to the spring of the arch which defines the round-headed doorway. The spandrels are decorated with conventional classical heads in low relief, on the right that of Hadrian, on the left possibly a dim reminiscence of Alexander. The doorway taken as a whole, is unlike any Renaissance work known to me in Genoa, though the chief features, panelled jamb-bases, emperors' heads in spandrels, and the ugly return of the mouldings occur there.<sup>1</sup> The over-florid design lacks the sobriety which characterizes most Genoese work of the period.

As to the history of the doorway and relief we are comparatively well informed. In 1656 Thévenot saw in the castle of Chios over the doorway of a private house, a relief representing the Triumphal Entry.<sup>2</sup> Pococke, in 1739, notes the existence of the relief in its present position at Chalkiós, and gives drawings of the reliefs on the jamb-bases.<sup>3</sup> Local tradition holds that (1) when the Church was in building a Greek servant of a Turkish family resident in the castle begged the doorway as a favour from her master<sup>4</sup>: (2) that it was miraculously transported by the Virgin from the castle to Chalkiós<sup>5</sup>: (3) that a party of 'Pallikars' stole it by night from the castle.<sup>6</sup> The date is naturally vague in the tradition. Assuming that the reliefs mentioned are identical, the removal of the doorway to Chalkiós must be placed between 1659 and 1739. Within

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Reinhardt, *Palast-Architektur v. Oberitalien, Genua* (1886), p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Voyage*, ed. Amst. 1727, i. 298, 'Ce château est fort beau et bien bâti. Toutes ses maisons ont été bâties du tems que les Chrétiens en étoient les maîtres, aussi sont-elles très bien élevées, et de belle pierre de taille et ornées de plusieurs armoiries et figures fort bien faites: entr' autres il y en a une au dessus de la porte, qui représente en bas relief l'entrée de Notre Seigneur en Jérusalem sur l'âne.' Thévenot, or his authority, was copied by Piacenza (*Egeo*, 375) and Albrizzi (cf. Rhodokanakes, *op. cit.* p. 25). Hopf (ed. Vlastos, p. 145) mentions the same subject in fresco over the door of the church of S. Antonio, but refers to this passage in Thévenot.

<sup>3</sup> *Descr. of the East*, ii. 2, p. 5. 'At a village called Carchiosè I saw over the church a very ancient alt-relief of our Saviour's triumphal entrance into Jerusalem; the sculpture is but indifferent.'

<sup>4</sup> Rhodokanakes, *op. cit.* 'Εντ. Σημ. 26 (from Zolotas).

<sup>5</sup> Orally from Kanellakes.

<sup>6</sup> Orally at Chalkiós.

this period fall the Venetian occupation and retirement. This is a likely date for the removal, since (1) much ruin was caused among the houses within the citadel by the Venetian bombardment,<sup>1</sup> and (2) the Turks after the retirement, notoriously favoured the Greeks at the expense of the Latins. It is at least possible that the house to which the Chalkiós relief belonged lay in ruins after 1694 and that the first version of the legend is substantially correct.

In 1822 the church was burnt by the Turks.<sup>2</sup> The date 1834 on the block above the keystone presumably records the subsequent restoration.

There remains the difficult task of apportioning the various parts of the much-tried edifice to their proper dates. Firstly, is the relief of the same date as the doorway? Though they cannot but be both of the Genoese period, the entirely Gothic treatment of the former inclines one to consider it slightly earlier than the latter: this does not exclude the possibility that they were combined in a single portal of two periods in the castle. Secondly, various repairs are to be remarked in the doorway: obvious are (*a*) the clumsy inserted central block of the lintel, with poor acanthus ornament; (*b*) the plain vertical strips between the spandrels and the jambs; (*c*) the horizontal course between the spandrels and the lintel, dated 1835; (*d*) the soffit of the arch, which is added in plaster; and (*e*) the inner jambs.<sup>3</sup> Most of these repairs are probably due either to a desire to adapt the proportions of the doorway to a new environment or to make good the waste caused by breakage and recutting in order still to fit the cornice and relief above. But some sort of inner jamb is predicated in the original building by the plan of the base-blocks of the jambs which are single stones and undoubtedly original.<sup>4</sup>

**55.** A small <sup>5</sup> but complete Genoese doorway in white marble remains

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the blocks of houses (marked x) destroyed in the Venetian plan, Fig. 2. But already in 1573 J. Palaeologus speaks of the 'palatia ampla (sc. in arce) olim habitacula Principum et Dominorum diruta et inhabitata . . . facta praeda militum,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> Zolotas ap. Rhodokanakes, *loc. cit.* p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Zolotas recognized these as of a different period, but considered them Genoese and the outer jambs and door-frame Roman. To me they seem to be ordinary island work of the seventeenth century at earliest, inspired to some extent by the outer jamb to which they were to be fitted.

<sup>4</sup> These stones end of course at the upper step: the lower base-blocks on which they stand betray their late local origin.

<sup>5</sup> The dimensions of the opening are 1.70 x 0.91 m. The door is the principal entrance of the villa, and as is usual at Chios opens on the terrace.

*in situ* at the house of M. J. Mouniodes in the Kampos. The lintel measures  $0.35 \times 1.40$  m. and is decorated with a relief: the device is a pair of *putti* supporting a wreath, within which is the monogram of Christ. In the field are the initials A—V and below the wreath the date MDXIII. The work is coarse but the general effect not unpleasing (Fig. 30).



FIG. 30.—LINTEL RELIEF (No. 55).

**56.** The white marble doorway of Genoese origin, now rebuilt as the entrance to the Turkish Girls' School (Pl. X.), deserves recording for its curious design. The door-frame is a plain band, studded at



FIG. 31.—LINTEL RELIEF (No. 57).

intervals with strongly-projecting double rosettes or conventional flowers of eight points, each with a hole in its centre for a metal stud. Outside this runs a projecting moulding returning over the plain bases, and

decorated with simple linear zig-zag pattern formed by a juxtaposition of lozenges. The opening of the doorway measures  $2.50 \times 1.35$  m. The jambs are  $0.185$  broad and the base-blocks  $0.345$  high  $\times$   $0.21$  m. broad.

**57.** A fifteenth-century lintel of plain but pleasing design is built into a house adjoining that of the Giustiniani in the Frank quarter. On the shield which decorates its centre the initials P A have been rudely scratched, replacing probably an erased coat of arms (Fig. 31).

**58.** The series is closed by a dark grey stone (*μυλόπετρα*) lintel  $1.78 \times 0.36$  m. still *in situ* at the old tower called *Καμένος Πύργος* at the entrance to the town from the south. Its sole decoration is the arms of Giustiniani in a shield of *testa di cavallo* shape.

#### § 5.—MONUMENTS OF THE VILLAGES.

**59.** (Z. p. 300 (14, Pl. IV., cf. *Προσθήκαι*, 514. At Sklavià: white marble block  $0.37 \times 1.07 \times 0.14$  m. with inscription in Gothic letters  $0.04$  high, beneath which three shields in panel: rough work (Fig. 32).



FIG. 32.—INSCRIPTION WITH HERALDRY (No. 59).

MCCCXXVII die prima Madi hoc opus fieri | fecit Antonius de Rozolo  
pro se et suis | eredibus

This stone is preserved in one of the cottages of the hamlet of Sklavià, an ancient country-seat of the Lords of Chios. The text of the inscription has been published with some inaccuracies by Rhodokanakes.<sup>1</sup> The provenance given by him—the chapel of *Παναγία Φραγκική*—is, however, undoubtedly correct.<sup>2</sup> The chapel is a plain square-apsed building without

<sup>1</sup> *Ιουστινιάναι*, p. 742.

<sup>2</sup> Zolotas speaks of it as 'built into one of the towers of the castle,' but this is corrected in the *Προσθήκαι*.

architectural interest and now roofless: the former position of the stone appears to be indicated by an oblong sinking in the outer wall left of the west door: the surrounding country with its fine sea and land views, ruined towers, old trees and running water, is one of the most delightful spots in Chios, and amply justifies the choice of the Genoese patricians. As to the armorial bearings flanking the shield of Genoa, a coat similar to the first is attributed to de Bozolo by an inscription dated 1529, formerly in the church of S. Hieronimo de Quarto, at Genoa, and recorded in the heraldic MS. of Pasqua (Library of the Società Ligure di Storia Patria) f. 200. An entirely different coat is, however, assigned to the family by Fransone. The other shield may well be that of the founder's wife's family, but in default of tinctures cannot be identified. As to the family of de Bozolo a notary of that name is mentioned in a Perote document of 1387.<sup>1</sup>

**60.** (Z. p. 296 (18).) At the monastery church of the Archangels near Nénita: white marble block, 0·34 × 0·57 m., broken at right side, built in high up left of W. door. Lettering and sculpture rough and careless.

Arms of	+ HOC · OPVS · FIERIFE	+ Hoc opus fieri fe[cit
Giustini-	IOHANNES · IVSTINIANV	Iohannes Iustinian[us q' uondam]
ani on	D · BAPTISTE · OLIM · DE-	d'omini) Baptiste olim de [Roc-
kite-	HA · AD · MEMORIAM	ha ad memoriam s[uam
shaped	ETHEREDVM · SVORV	et heredum suoru[m]
shield	M · CCCC · LXXXV	MCCCCLXXXV.

The inscription is published by Paspates (*op. cit.* 425 (66)): it was found during the rebuilding of the church after the earthquake and probably came originally from one of the village castles. Johannes Baptistae Rocca-Giustiniani died in 1488.<sup>2</sup>

**61.** \*Near Pyrgi, stone 0·16 × 0·26 m. (Paspates 425 (67) ? Z. 50, p. 298, Pl. IX. 'ἐν τῷ ναύκκῳ τοῦ ἀγίου . . . Θεολόγου τοῦ Κέρου') :—

HOC · OPVS · FECIT	Hoc opus fecit
FIERI · MDIVSTINIA	feri MD. Iustinia-
NVS	nus

I was unable to discover this stone, which is said, however, still to exist at the monastery of S. George, Ano-Phaná.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 145 (xxix.).

<sup>2</sup> *Hopf. Chron. G.-R.* p. 507, Tab. C.

<sup>3</sup> It may be the stone which was seen *in situ* over the gate of a small castle near the sea between Mesta and Pyrgi by van Egmont: 'the substance of it was that in the sixteenth century

**62.** Built into the church are two circular marble plaques sculptured in relief: an inner medallion bears the letters YHS in Gothic (black-letter) characters, around which is a star composed of alternating flames and triangular rays. Such devices are common over doorways in Verona and I doubt not elsewhere in Italy.

**63.** Another with the inscription DOMINICVS SEPSI | 155(3) from Nénita is figured by Zolotas (*Προσθήκαι*, p. 522, Fig. 1).

**64.** (Z. p. 296 (5), Pl. II. 5.) At Armolia, built into the school house: rough block of white marble 0.70 x 0.24 m., right end broken, centre damaged: carving rough and letters irregular: flanking the inscription are the arms of (l.) Giustiniani and (r.) Genoa (Fig. 33).

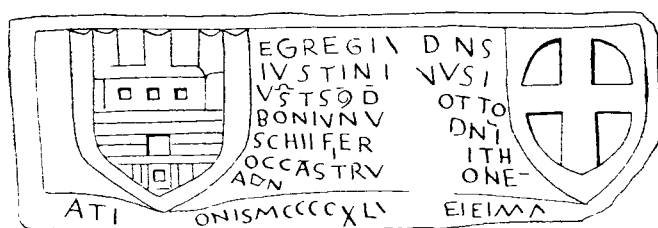


FIG. 33.—INSCRIPTION AT ARMOLIA (No. 64).

Egredi[us] d(omi)n(u)s Iustini[a]nus Iust(inianus q(uondam) d(omi)[ni] Otto boni unu[s] ex] d(omi)ni's Chii fier[i] fec[it] hoc castru[m] ann]o in(c)a(r)nationis MCCCCXLV[1] (d)ie I Ma[i]i.

In the arms of Giustiniani the eagle is omitted, probably owing to the incompetence of the lapidary. The builder of the castle is the son of Ottobuono Campi-Giustiniani,<sup>1</sup> whose sarcophagus is in the citadel of Chios.<sup>2</sup> The date 1446 is attested by M. Kanellakes, who saw the stone before it was damaged over the gate of the adjacent castle of Apólychno. Both castle and inscription are mentioned by Thévenot,<sup>3</sup> whose authority was probably Lupazzolo,<sup>4</sup> with the erroneous name Nicolas and date 1440.

this castle was built by one Marcus Justiniani' (i. 252). Zolotas' copy should probably be interpreted 'Hoc opus fecit <Iustinianus> fieri Marcus (Iustinianus).' The first *Iustinianus* seems to have crept in from the line below.

<sup>1</sup> Hopf, *Chron. G.-R.* p. 514, Tab. P.

<sup>2</sup> Above, No. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* i. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the quotation from L. in *Scio Sacra*, p. 4, and Thévenot, i. 307.



The castle of Apólychno stands high above the village to the E. It is roughly oval in shape, lying N. and S., and preserved in some places to its battlements. The entrance was at the north-east and is defended by a low battering bastion. The circuit wall is low, about 1·50–2·00 m., thick and has no towers: the battlements are pierced, and below them is a line of putlog-holes for the addition of a wooden gallery inside to serve as a *chemin de ronde*. The interior is occupied by a series of chambers abutting on the wall and several cisterns. On the south side is a terrace approached only from the fortress.

Thévenot mentions that the arms of Della Rocca were to be seen over the gate of the castle of Katharákti.<sup>1</sup> M. Kanellakes informs me that a Latin inscription was taken from the castle after the earthquake, when the inhabitants removed to their present coast-site, and was for some time preserved in the church of the new village: it seems to have disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

**65.** Museum, provenance unknown: greyish marble slab in two pieces 0·37 m. high × 0·47 and 0·80 m. long, 0·12 m. thick, divided into three compartments (Fig. 34). The centre panel is filled by a shield bearing three



FIG. 34—HERALDRY IN THE MUSEUM (No. 65)

bars, a bendlet over all, with a chief of Genoa. The outer panels contain three-towered castles in low relief. The whole is of poor, rustic work and probably comes from one of the village castles.

F. W. HASLUCK.

<sup>1</sup> 1313, 'Ce château étoit commandé des seigneurs Della Rocca comme on voit par leurs armes qui y sont: ' the stone may, however, be our No. 60.

<sup>2</sup> There was also an inscription at the castle of Volisso, but it has been buried in *débris* and is now inaccessible.

## APPENDIX.

## THEVET'S DESCRIPTION OF CHIOS.

The following description of the town and harbour of Chios from the *Grand Insulaire*<sup>1</sup> was written shortly after the Turkish conquest, the author himself having visited the island about 1550.<sup>2</sup> It is the most explicit account that has come down to us and forms an interesting commentary on the contemporary engravings of the town.

f 162 Au milieu vous avez la ville de Chios, qui fut autres fois posée sur le mont, estant à present sur la marine, belle, marchande, et peu forte, comme je l'ay contemplée en tout son tour. . . . Ceste ville est encores divisée en deux parties dont le chasteau fait l'une et le bourg l'autre. Ce bourg n'est enfermé de murailles et n'a que quelques ramparts avec les portes. Il y a d'asses beaux et superbes bastimens surtout du costé du quartier, qu'on nomme Aplotarea, ou les gentilshommes Grecs font  
f 163 leur retraite pour se séparer | des francois et Latins. Là au pres court le Torrent appellé Callopliti lequel s'embouche au Port, et y emmoncelle vne grande quantité de gravier. Vous voyez apres nostre Dame de l'Observance et puis Paliocastro. Quant au chasteau, c'est là ou vous auez la cité qui est fort bien murée, d'un costé elle est battue de la mer, de l'autre elle a la terre, avec un large fossé tout remply d'eaux, qui sert pour separation du chasteau avec le bourg. Les murailles qui sont du costé de la terre sont doublées par ce qu'elle est commandée par le mont de S. George. Là les derniers seigneurs de Chios auoient designé d'y fonder vne Vniversité. L'estat en estoit desia dressé lors que Sultan Solyman vint l'enuahir. Près de ce fossé vous auez vne grande place qui prend des l'Echelle du Port jusques près de Dichiotato, qui est un lieu ou se tient le bureau et la iustice de la police. Passant en droite ligne en ceste place d'une costé vous auez une grande Halle ouuerte pleine de plusieurs boutiques où se vendent toute sortes de marchandises, de l'autre costé est le marché où on achapte les viures. Ainsy ceste place prend des ce fossé jusques à la mer. A ceste heure les Turcs ont attiré tout l'eau qui estoit du costé de l'ouest et l'ont reduite en ceste place en telle abondance qu'elle bastiroit asscé pour faire moudre un moulin. Là ils ont fait elever à leur facon vne haute fontaigne, d'ou les nauires qui abordent retirent vne tres grande commodité par ce qu'auparauant on n'auoit de l'eau qu' avec grande peine. Le chasteau a trois portes, deux desquelles ont leur issue a la place du marché avec leurs ponts, la troisième garde le port avec un pont long faict de

<sup>1</sup> Bibl. Nat. MS. Fr. 15.453 [1586].

<sup>2</sup> The account in the *Grand Insulaire* is much more informing than that in the *Cosmographie*, au Levant and may have come from Jerome Justinian or some member of the family resident in Paris.

gros poteaux qui le soustiennent sur des colonnes de marbre. Il fut ainsy expressement edifié parce que les nauires chargent la a ce que par apres il servit de doane. Le Palais seigneurial est faict à l'antique à deuant une belle place quarrée, ou s'esbatent les gentilshommes et au derrière une autre petite, ou estoit le chancellerie, derrière laquelle les Juifs faisoient leur demeure pour leur seurte. Ils ont quelques synagogues et de scavans medecins entre eux. Quant aux edifices on ne peut dire qu'ils n'ayent esté superbes et magnifiques et entre autres ceux des Seigneurs Justiniens de Genes, bastis d'une forte matière et de diverses sortes de marbres, avec de grands portiques et magnifiques galeries. Maintenant le Turc laisse tomber en ruine telles singularités. Il y auoit trois religions des Jacobins des Cordeliers et des religieux de l'ordre de S. Augustin; mais les Jacobins et Cordeliers servent maintenant de rêtraite et mosquées des (240) Turcs. | En la cite vous auez quatre sortes de religion les Latins, les Grecs, les Juifs et les Turcs qui vivent selon leurs deuotions et ont chascun leurs Eglises, Temples, Synagogues et Mosques. Le Port est faict fort industrieusement, capable de plusieurs grands nauires quoy qu'aujourd'huy les Turcs ne soyent soigneux de l'escurer tenir net et rejeter les immondices que l'amasse du torrent entasse la<sup>1</sup>. . . Dessus ce port y a plusieurs moulins à vent de pierre fort et gros comme tours, lesquelles ont huit voiles alentour. De là au pres vous voyez la Ladrerie toute fermée de murailles avec une pièce de terre et quelques maisonnettes ou cabanes destinées à retirer les pestifères.

<sup>1</sup> I here omit the story of the construction of the port by Herod, based on a misapprehension of Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 18.

## A FRENCH INSCRIPTION AT ADALIA.

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I AM enabled this year, by the kindness of my friends M. N. Ferteklis (of Adalia) and Mr. A. M. Woodward, to supplement my account of Frankish remains at Adalia (*B.S.A.* xv. 270) by the publication of a French inscription discovered and copied by M. Ferteklis and again by Mr. Woodward.

The inscription is written on a slab of white marble about 1·20 m. square, in letters about 108 m. high, built into the wall in the back yard of a shop about 100 yards S.E. of the Bazaar gate. A transcription cannot easily be made, as the stone is high up and weathered in the lower part. The proximity of a baker's oven aggravated these difficulties in June for Mr. Woodward.

The inscription records the taking of Adalia by Pierre I., the date being confirmed by the Cypriote historians. The text is as follows :—

+LEPVISANTROYPI  
 EREPARLAGRASED'DI  
 EVROYD'IERVSALEME'DE  
 CHIPREVINT·Z·PRISTPAR  
 5 SAPVISANCESATALIELE  
 MARDIAXXIIIIORSDAOVST·  
 LEIORD'LAFESTED'S'B^LEME  
 DELANOMCCCCLXID'CRIST.

+ Le puissant Roy Pi-  
 ere par la grace (*sic*) d(e) Di-  
 eu Roy d(e) Ierusalem e(t) de  
 Chipre vint (et) prist par  
 5 sa puissance Satalie le  
 Mardi à XXIIII iors d'Aoust  
 le ior d(e) la feste d(e) S. B(artho)leme  
 de l'an (de) MCCCCLXI d(e) Crist.

In l. 6 the *a* after *Mardi* is 'uncertain' on the stone but made certain by Cypriote parallels: in the last line Mr. Woodward read LANO, but the last letter is evidently a worn *d*.<sup>1</sup>

In correction of my previous article I should note here *a* that the arms of Pierre I. are still to be seen on the Palazzo Cornaro and *b* that the same shield occurs in Cyprus, amongst other places at Belapais. The second stone of the two published has been removed to the Imperial Museum.

F. W. HASLUCK.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chamberlayne, *Lac. Nubes*. 226, 235, 243-244, 273, 276, 291, etc.

## SOME NEW FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC BUILDING-RECORDS.

TWO of the three inscriptions here published are fragments of the Building-record of the Parthenon, and the third is from that of the Propylaea; they are not without interest as they contribute to some extent, towards furnishing completer texts and fuller restorations of these important *stelai*. The most ambitious attempt at a reconstruction of the Parthenon-accounts appeared recently from the pen of M. E. Cavaignac,<sup>1</sup> but, as my notes will show, this cannot be the final exposition of the subject, since his version of the shape of the original *stèle* is not borne out by the evidence of the fragments which have survived. I have to thank Dr. B. Leonardos, curator of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens, for his permission to study and publish these fragments, which I found lying unnumbered, in the first room of the Museum.

1. Fragment of Pentelic marble broken on all sides, except that the top has been roughly dressed. The inscribed surface measures 0.62 x 1.1. Letters 0.1 high.

ΖΑΝΙ  
 :ΒΟΛΕΞΗΕΙ  
 'ΟΞΑΡΧΟΝ  
 ΤΟΥΤΟΥΤΑ

This is clearly from the heading to some year's accounts, and it is easy to restore *ho]is 'Aντ(or ι)[- - ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἐπὶ τῆς - -] βολῆς ἡε[ - - πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευεν, ἐπὶ - - ]ος ἄρχον[τος - - 'λέμματα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ]*

<sup>1</sup> *Études sur l'histoire financière d'Athènes au 1<sup>er</sup> siècle de l'ère chr.* d'Athènes de 480 à 404 (Paris, 1908). Introd. pp. l. ff., and Pl. II.

τούτο τὰ[δε]. Further examination shows us that (1) the name of the γραμματεὺς βουλῆς began with a letter which had a vertical *hasta* on the left (or was possibly *iota*), (2) the letter preceding the ΟΞ at the end of the Archon's name was apparently Ν, for there\* are the remains of a *hasta* visible which seems to point to this letter, as it reaches slightly above the level of the other letters in the line. Assuming that the name was [Εὐθυμέν]ος, I tried the experiment of applying the fragment to the upper left-hand corner of the new fragment recently added by Cavaignac to *I.G.* i. Suppl. p. 37, 297 b,<sup>1</sup> and found that, beyond any possible doubt, it had been broken off from here. This enables us to restore ll. 1-4 thus: [τοῖς ἐπιστάτεσι] ho]is 'Αντ (or ι, [. . . . .] ἐγραμμάτευεν | [ἐπὶ τῆς ἑνδεκάτης] βολῆς ἦει [Πε]ιθιάδης πρότος ἐγρα[μμάτευεν, ἐπὶ Εὐθυμέν]ος ἀρχον[τ]ος 'Αθηναίοισιν· [λέμματα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ] τούτο τὰδε. The restoration [Πε]ιθιάδης<sup>2</sup> seems to me certain, as no other known name fulfils the requirements, Π being an obvious choice for the first letter, from the *hasta* still traceable on the stone. It may also be made in the first year's record of the Propylaea-accounts (*I.G.* i. 314, l. 3 *ad init.*), which is likewise dated by the archonship of Εὐθυμένης (437 B.).

The name of the γραμματεὺς to the ἐπιστάται in l. 1 is a difficult problem, as we only know that it began with 'Ανι- or 'Αντ-, followed by ten letters (or possibly nine, if the missing letters were widely spaced and the στοιχηδόν arrangement not strictly kept to, as we might infer to have been the case from the position of the ΑΝι). I know of no name beginning in either of these ways which contained twelve or thirteen letters, and it is more natural to suppose that it was a shorter name followed by a demotic. It is, in these circumstances, tempting to restore 'Αντ[ικλῆς] followed by, e.g. 'Οῦθεν or 'Οαθεν, and to identify him with the γραμματεὺς who occupied this post in two successive years soon afterwards (434/3, 433/2),<sup>3</sup> with the possible implication that he occupied the same post in the two intervening years, from which no headings are preserved. But I prefer to leave the point undecided.

But I cannot leave this fragment without alluding to its original place

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* Introd. p. lxii. Fig. 26 : recognized by Cavaignac as belonging to year XI., i.e. that of Euthymenes.

<sup>2</sup> The final ν is omitted in Cavaignac's transcript, Pl. II., but it is plainly visible on the stone and in the photograph of his squeeze.

<sup>3</sup> The name occurs once at Athens in the 4th century : see Kirchner, *Prosep. Att.* v.v.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.* i. 301 ; i. Suppl. 300-302, B.

in the *stèle*. Cavaignac, in publishing the fragment to which this new piece joins as we have seen, places it low down on the back or reverse face of the slab, and indicates moreover that two lines are missing from above l. 1. He has failed to notice the really important fact that his fragment is complete above, as well as on the right, and therefore can only have formed the upper right-hand corner of the reverse face of the original *stèle*. The upper edge has been roughly dressed with a blunt tool, and the marks are still clearly visible in spite of the fact that the surface is much worn and pitted by long exposure to the elements. Plainly then the record of year XI. did not occur anywhere near the place on the stone allotted it by Cavaignac, and in this respect at any rate his reconstruction cannot be correct. It is also incorrect in neglecting the fact (which is stated in the *Corpus*) that *I.G.* i. 300-302 is likewise complete above, and therefore that the record of the fourteenth year was the first and not, as he thought, the second, to be inscribed on one of the narrow sides of the stone. Cavaignac's neglect of these facts has led to his completely missing the important result which we obtain by putting these two facts together, namely that we have both the left- and right-hand top corners of the reverse face of the *stèle* in *I.G.* i. 302 and his own new fragment. There is of course a large piece missing between them, but enough is preserved to show that the words in i. 302 will not possibly combine with those in the other corner, and consequently that this face of the stone was drawn up in two columns. Further he has not noticed that *I.G.* i. 308, 309 is complete below, as well as i. 327, and thus, as they both belong to the other face of the stone and do not combine together, we have clearly two columns on the obverse side as well. Finally, in the matter of *I.G.* i. Suppl. 300-302 (the narrow face of which records year XV. of the work), Cavaignac is wrong in assigning it to the same narrow face as the record of year XIV., for, though he correctly points out that the writing on the left-hand side of the fragment corresponds in style to that on the reverse face of the *stèle*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. to that of the fragment here published for the first time, it cannot be from the same narrow edge as *I.G.* i. 300-302, which has been shown conclusively to form the upper left-hand corner of the reverse face, and moreover exhibits on its left-hand side the style of writing typical of the obverse face. Why the record of the last year should have been engraved on this edge and not on the other, and should begin some distance below the top, it is impossible to say, but that

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. liii.



it was so is proved finally by the fact that the fragment (*I.G.* i. Suppl. 300-302) which contains it, joins satisfactorily with the lower corner of *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297*b*, as experiment showed.

I do not propose to attempt here a full reconstruction of the *stèle*, as an exhaustive study of it will, I hope, appear before long from the pen of Mr. W. B. Dinsmoor of the American School at Athens,<sup>1</sup> but I have indicated the main points on which such a reconstruction must be based, which show that Cavaignac's restoration fails to satisfy the actual evidence from the stones (though there is little fault to find with his attribution of fragments to particular years), and therefore cannot be used as a basis for further study of the shape of the *stèle*. My criticism does not indeed claim to be exhaustive, but contains only those points which struck me in attempting to place the two fragments published here, to the second of which I now turn my attention.

2 Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, measuring 122 × 119 × 117. Letters 1009 high. The surface is much damaged and several letters have disappeared.

Ο Α  
 ΑΘΗΝΑ  
 ΠΟΙΟΙ ΟΛΛΙΟΟ  
 ΑΚΥΚΛΑ ΕΞΙΤΟΚ  
 ΚΙΑΣΤΕΤΙΣΛΡΑΑΣΤΕΡΙΑ  
 ΑΤΟΤΟΙΟΙΞΕΝΑΙΕΤΙΚ  
  
 ΑΕ ΤΟΕΝΙΑΥΤ  
 ΣΤ/ ΕΣΛΑΝ  
 ΑΤΛΡΕΞΚΥΖΙ  
  
 ΟΣΕΑΡΑΜΑΤΕ

This is clearly from one of the lists of payments made in some year of the building operations on the Parthenon, for in ll. 7 ff. we have the entry of the gold Lampsacene and Cyzicene staters, which occurs in no

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dinsmoor had been studying the Parthenon Building-record before I began work upon the two fragments here discussed, but as he had not previously seen them I publish them independently, at his request, with my own conclusions only, though I wish to record my acknowledgment of many helpful suggestions made during our joint examination of the fragments. We discovered together that *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 joins *I.G.* i. Suppl. 300-302, which proved finally that both narrow edges were inserted.

other Attic Building-record: these, as Cavaignac notes,<sup>1</sup> the commissioners never succeeded in spending. In the last line we have the beginning of the heading of the accounts of the next year; nothing is preserved except *-ος ἐγραμμύτενε*. It is unfortunate that the stone is so badly damaged, for some of the items are not immediately recognizable elsewhere in these records, e.g. ll. 3, 4, and 6, and the restoration is not obvious.

It is to be observed that in the first six lines about four letters are lost, on an average, from the left-hand of the stone, besides of course the column containing the amounts paid. Owing to the varying length of the lines it is hard to say exactly how much is missing on the right. But we may be quite certain that (1, this is from one of the broader faces of the stone, (2 the style of the writing resembles that of the reverse face, to which the preceding fragment belongs.

We may proceed to restore as follows: l. 1, [*λιθα*γ]ογ[*ίας* - - : l. 2, [*λιθα*]γογ[*ία*[s Περτελῆθεν?]. There seem to be traces of letters where the second word would come, but I could decipher nothing either on the stone or the squeeze. In l. 3 we see that the letters are somewhat more closely crowded than in ll. 1 and 2, and therefore it is probable that the second *iota* of the word *-ποιοῖ*[s], which comes almost exactly under the *iota* in the line above, was preceded by eight or possibly nine letters, as opposed to seven in the previous line (where there is no doubt as to the restoration [*λιθα*]γογ[*ία*[s]). It seems that the phrase continues into l. 4 and that we have some allusion to conveying marble-blocks on rollers, since the letters ΚΥΚΛ in l. 4 are quite certain.<sup>2</sup> Presumably we may connect this with the words [*τροχον κυκλιαιον* 'case?' in l. 12 of the fragment added by Cavaignac to i. Suppl. 297 b. I would suggest for the first word of l. 3 [*ἡοδο*]ποιοῖ[s], followed by [*καὶ τ*]ὸλ λίθο[ν ἀνατιθέσι ἐπὶ τ]ὰ κύκλα [Περτελ]ῆσι τὸς [ἐς τὰ ἐναιετία. The word *ὁδοποιός* is not found elsewhere in inscriptions, so far as I am aware,<sup>3</sup> but the context requires some allusion to making or preparing the tracks along which the marble was conveyed from the quarries to Athens. In l. 4 we are confronted with fresh difficulties, namely that the letters before and after ΚΥΚΛ seem to have been Α (that before might be Λ, and that there is no accusative

<sup>1</sup> *Opusc.* i. c. Introd. p. lxxv.

<sup>2</sup> For the general arrangement we may follow that of the expression in *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 b, ll. 7, 8, to which I refer again below.

<sup>3</sup> It is used by Xenophon, *Cyr.* vi. 2, 36, to mean a pioneer, by Aeschines, 57, l. 27, to mean a road-builder. Here it would not mean more than road-mender.

plural recognizable to which τὸς can be in apposition. With regard to [τ]ὰ κύκλα I can only suggest that this poetical plural of κύκλος<sup>1</sup> may have been in constant use at this time and in this connexion, as well as the normal word κύκλοι. Otherwise it is practically impossible to account for the Α after the λ, though it is conceivable, but extremely unlikely, that the stone-cutter wrote κυκλαιον for κυκλαιον, in which case my restoration would fall through; but, as we shall see, κύκλα can be defended in other passages. We have still to account for the ΤΟΞ at the end of l. 4, and I can only suggest that the engraver forgot that he had used τὸλ λίθον and not τὸς λίθος in the previous line. Such a slip is far from unlikely. I am sufficiently confident of the correctness of τὰ κύκλα to suggest that we should restore these words in the corresponding passages of the two other inscriptions relating to the conveyance of marble from Pentelicus to the Parthenon. In the former, *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *a*, ll. 10, 11 the restoration given in the *Corpus* is . . . . . οἰς<sup>2</sup> καὶ λίθ[ους ἀνατιθεῖσι ἐπὶ τὰ | ὑποζύγια τοῦ]ς ἐς τὰ [ἐναιετία Πεντελῆσι]; I would make l. 10 end with ἀνατιθεῖσι, and insert ἐπὶ τὰ κύκλα at the beginning of l. 11 (where there are ten spaces vacant, whereas ὑποζύγια would occupy only nine); and in i. Suppl. 297 *b*, ll. 7, 8 for ἐπ[ὶ τοὺς ὄνους κ.τ.λ. I would substitute ἐπ[ὶ τὰ κύκλα, which thus will give us the same phrase on each occasion to describe similar items in the list of expenses. A similar restoration in a fragment of the Propylaea-record is suggested below.<sup>3</sup>

L. 5: [λιθολ]κίας ἐς τὰ [ἐ]ργαστέρια does not need further comment; Cavaignac restores it correctly in ll. 13 and 10 of the two other inscriptions just mentioned. In l. 6 the following letters are certain: -ατο · οἰοῖς ἐναιετιο. Before the Α I seem to see the remains of Μ, and the obvious restoration, which suits the number of letters lost from the beginning of the line, is [ἀγαλ]ματο[π]οιοῖς ἐναιετιό[ν], i.e. the sculptors of the Pediment groups. I think we are justified in restoring the same phrase in i. Suppl. 297 *a*, l. 14, where only ΞΕΝΑ is preserved, for reference to the previous line shows that thirteen letters are lost from before the *sigma*. It is not at all impossible that in i. Suppl. 297 *b*, l. 12, where nothing survives but ΙΟ ΜΙΞΘΟΞ, we should restore [ἀγαλματοποιοῖς ἐναιετ]ίρ[ν] μισθός, as the number of letters missing would exactly accommodate it, apart from the resemblance of the other items in this part of the list.<sup>4</sup> In fact it is

<sup>1</sup> See L. and S. s.v.

<sup>2</sup> I would restore [ἡδοποι]οῖς here.

<sup>3</sup> P. 216.

<sup>4</sup> We may reasonably suggest the same restoration in *I.G.* i. 306, ll. 1 and 2, which is from one

After L. 7 is a vacant space equivalent to slightly more than that occupied by a single line, followed by the entry of the Lampsacene and Cyzicene staters (which, as was noted above, occurs every year in these records), as being in hand at the end of the year.

We may now proceed to give in full the restorations of our fragment on the lines suggested in these pages:—

10 [Τοῖς ἐπιστάτεσι hoῖς *vel sim.* - - -] ος ἐγρ[αμ]μάτε[υε - - -]

( )

It remains now to attempt to find what position our fragment occupied in the original *stèle*. It has been pointed out above that it belongs to the reverse face, and this means that it must be from the record of an earlier year than XIV., which was the first to be engraved on one of the narrow edges of the stone (*I.G.* i. 301), and later than VI. or VII., according as we assume that the obverse contained years I.–VI. or I.–VII. The latter alternative seems by far the more probable, as the end of the first column on this face contains the receipts of year V.,<sup>1</sup> and the second column, which we know to have been full almost down to the bottom, could scarcely have been filled with the accounts of only one year *plus* the expenditure of the previous year. Moreover, if we allot years I.–VII. to the obverse, we have years VIII., IX., and X. for col. 1 of the reverse and years XI., XII., and XIII. for col. 2, which, as we know, began with year XI. The present fragment contains the beginning of a second year's record as well as the end of the expenses of the year before, and this is of considerable assistance to us in placing it. For, firstly, it cannot belong to years X. and XI., for they were in separate columns, and in the second place it cannot belong to years XIII. and XIV., for XIV. is engraved on a narrow face. Nor again can it belong to years XI. and XII., for year XI. is almost complete and, as we have seen, does not lack the items contained in our fragment. We may thus conclude that if it is to be assigned to the second column of this face it can only belong to years XII. and XIII.; but there is the possibility to be considered that it may belong to the first column, in which case it may come from years VIII. and IX. or IX. and X.

But there is also the evidence of the contents to be considered on this point. The allusion to the payment made to the sculptors of the Pediment groups which we have in l. 6 leads us to attribute it to a date not far distant from that of *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *b* (which, as we saw, belonged to year XI.) and i. Suppl. 297 *a* (of which the date is not fixed), where a bold restoration gave us a similar allusion on each stone; and, apart from this, the general similarity in the other items points to a close connexion. In fact we shall not be unreasonable if we allot these three fragments to successive years. Their relative positions may on this hypothesis be assigned in three different ways, remembering that the position of i. Suppl. 297 *b* is fixed to year XI. We may assign these three years thus :

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* i. 309.

1. { Year IX. = The new fragment.  
Year X. = *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *a*.<sup>1</sup>  
Year XI. = *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *b*.
2. { Year X. = *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *a*.  
Year XI. = *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *b*.  
Year XII. = The new fragment.
3. { Year XI. = *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *b*.  
Year XII. = The new fragment.  
Year XIII. = *I.G.* i. Suppl. 297 *a*.<sup>1</sup>

In other words should these fragments cover years IX.-XI., X-XII., or XI.-XIII.<sup>2</sup>? The problem does not in the present circumstances admit of a certain answer, but I am inclined to reject the first solution, on the ground that one would hardly expect the work on the Pediment sculptures to have lasted over as many as six years; and we have seen that a possible restoration of *I.G.* i. 306 alludes to this work as still in progress during one of the last two years of the building operations. May we then suppose that the work on the Pediment groups was postponed until the gorgeous statue to be enshrined in the Parthenon was finally completed and set up? This event is generally supposed to have taken place in 438 B.C.,<sup>3</sup> but whether a start was made with the work on the Pediment groups in the same or only in the next year, must remain a matter for conjecture. If we suppose the latter to be the correct view, then the payment recorded, following the proposed restoration in year XI., will be the first which was made for this particular part of the work, and the third of the three alternative positions will alone satisfy the needs of the situation. If, however, we believe that the work was begun in 438.7,

<sup>1</sup> This fragment is incomplete above, and so much is missing from there that it might be the continuation of the record of which the first line only is preserved at the bottom of the new fragment. This would not, of course, be the case if we follow Bannier, *Rhein. Mus.* LXIII. p. 429, Note 2, in joining i. Suppl. 297 *a* to the bottom of *I.G.* i. 303, 304, for *I.G.* i. 304, l. 1 contains the end of the name of the γραμματεὺς. There is no real join, but this is quite likely to be correct. Cavaignac, *op. cit.* p. lx. and Pl. II. likewise connects them, but I am not convinced, and prefer to leave the point undecided.

<sup>2</sup> If Bannier's view, mentioned in the preceding note, is correct, the first and third arrangements are ruled out at once.

<sup>3</sup> In a recent article (*Rom. Mitt.*, 1910, pp. 271 f.) L. Paretti attempts to revolutionize the chronology of the career of Pheidias, and dates the commencement of the Athena to 439, and its completion to 434. A re-examination of all the evidence hardly comes within the scope of the present article, but the traditional view seems to involve a less violent treatment of the ancient authorities than Paretti's.

the second position will also be possible, though this does not necessarily exclude the third arrangement, which would still be correct if we postulated that there was a lost record from year X. alluding also to the payments made to the sculptors of the Pediment groups. On the existing evidence either the second or the third arrangement is equally admissible, and in each case we find that our fragment contains the payments of year XII., with the beginning of the introduction to year XIII.

But it is possible that an exhaustive study of the fragments composing the obverse face of the *stèle* might settle the question definitely one way or the other with regard to the position of *I.G. i. Suppl. 297 a*, for the only point now left uncertain is whether it belongs to year X. or year XIII.<sup>1</sup> It might be found that its shape at the back would admit of only one possible position in relation to the fragments of the obverse face. Or again, some fresh fragments might yet be discovered which would put the matter beyond the region of doubt. In the circumstances it is safer to leave it undecided.

In any case the evidence of the new fragment is incontestable on one point, namely that the Pediment sculptures were being made in the twelfth year of the work on the Parthenon, namely 436 5. And moreover the payment was made to the sculptors, and not to the sculptor: had the word been in the singular [*ἀγαλ*]ματοποιῶν(=*ῥ*) we should not have hesitated to assume that it denoted Pheidias himself, but as it is in the plural we must suppose that it alludes to those who worked in his *atelier*. But this raises another point of importance. It has generally been supposed that the Parthenon sculptures were completed at the time of the dedication of the chryselephantine statue in 438 B.C.,<sup>2</sup> and a recent writer suggests that they were in process of execution at the same time as the great statue, and therefore left very much to Pheidias' assistants, though 'we may well suppose that he supervised the execution of the pediments in person, that he even gave a finishing touch to some portions.'<sup>3</sup> But we see now that they were a later work, and that the chryselephantine statue being now finished it was possible for Pheidias to have had a larger share

<sup>1</sup> I regret that I had no time to make a fresh study *ab initio* of all the fragments of the obverse face, for it was only just before leaving Athens that I realized how little reliance could be placed on Cavaignac's reconstruction of the *stèle*, which I had at first accepted without question.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 288.

in their execution. The use of the plural shows that more than one sculptor was at work upon them, but that is in accordance with the accepted views. The evidence of the present inscription would certainly lead us to suppose that Pheidias continued to reside in Athens until his work in connexion with the Parthenon was completed, which would not have been till 433 B.C., if he was present throughout the building operations recorded in the accounts of the fifteen years (448-433 B.C.), of which we have remains. And on this view it would be natural to date his activity at Olympia earlier than his work on the Parthenon, *i.e.* to 454-448 B.C., though this explanation would not account for the difficulty attending the view that he continued to supervise the Parthenon operations after being charged with stealing the precious material from the chryselephantine statue of the Parthenos, of which accusation there seems no doubt.<sup>1</sup>

Now, however, that we have the evidence from the newly interpreted papyrus fragment at Geneva<sup>2</sup>, no room is left for doubt that Pheidias' work at Olympia was later than that on the Parthenon, and that when he was charged with misappropriation of the ivory for the statue of the Parthenos his bail was paid by the Eleans who were anxious for him to make their statue of Zeus. If the statement of Philochoros<sup>3</sup> is correct, and it is important to note that the new papyrus bears it out (*e.g.* in the 'stolen' material being ivory and not gold) as against the story in Plutarch,<sup>4</sup> Pheidias was tried in 438 B.C., in the Archonship of Theodoros, and being released on bail must have gone shortly afterwards to Olympia. But we saw that the Parthenon pediments were in process of execution in the years immediately following 438 B.C., and in the circumstances we must suppose either that he was in the habit of going backwards and forwards between Olympia and Athens to attend to their progress, which is almost incredible in view of his disgrace, or that he exercised practically no supervision over the last stages of the decoration of the Parthenon. His condemnation seems to have taken place between 434 and 432 B.C.<sup>5</sup>, and it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philochoros, *apud* Schol. on Arist. *Pañ*, l. 605; and E. A. Gardner, *op. cit.* p. 251, Note 2.

<sup>2</sup> J. Nicole, *Le procès de Phidias dans les Chroniques d'Apollodore . . .* [Geneva, 1910]; cf. *J.H.S.* xxx. (1910), p. 377, for a short notice of this work; and Paretti's article (*Rom. Mitt.*, *loc. cit.*) for a refutation of almost every point made by Nicole.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Pericles*, c. 31 (reprinted in H. Stuart Jones, *Ancient Writers on Greek Sculpture*, pp. 74, 75).

<sup>5</sup> Nicole, *op. cit.* p. 47.



is unnecessary to suppose that he was in Athens for the final stages of his trial; thus in the circumstances it is hard to see how he can have had any share even of the supervision of the work on the Parthenon pediments. That he planned them before his arrest in 438 B.C. is likely enough, in view of their intrinsic excellence, and that his pupils carried out his designs in spite of the suspicion and unpopularity under which their master had fallen, may be assumed on the same grounds; but that they had for the most part little or no assistance from Pheidias himself seems beyond question in the light of the fresh evidence which we now possess.<sup>1</sup>

I append a skeleton reconstruction of the *stèle*, showing the positions of the more important fragments discussed here.<sup>2</sup>

FRONT.		SIDE 1.		BACK.		SIDE 2.	
(Years I.-VII.)		(Year XIV.)		(Years VIII.-XIII.)		(Year XV.)	
Introductory heading (?) (I.) (V. cont.)		<i>I. G. i.</i> 300	(VIII.) 301	(XI.) 302	New frag. (XI.) No. 1 and i. Suppl. 297 <sup>b</sup>	(Blank.)	
(II.) (VI.) i. Suppl. 302.		(Blank.)	(IX.)	(XII.)	300	(XV.) i. Suppl. 301.	
(III)							
(IV.) (VII.) <i>I. G. i.</i> 308.		<i>I. G. i.</i>	(X.)	(XIII.)	New frag. No. 2.		
(V) 309.		327	i. Suppl. 297 <sup>a</sup>				

3. The following fragment is from the Building-record of the Propylaea. It consists of three small pieces which join one another exactly, found in different parts of the first room in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. It gives us in all the remains of fourteen lines, but unfortunately no line contains more than seven letters, while towards the bottom of the stone,

<sup>1</sup> Unless, of course, we accept Paretti's dates. But if, with him, we date Pheidias' work at Olympia to 446-439, this precludes Pheidias from having even seen the Parthenon until it was more than half finished. The planning and execution of all its sculptures—Athena, frieze, metopes, and pediments—would be an almost incredible task for one artist and his *atelier* to accomplish within six years, *i. e.* by 433 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The *stèle* is represented as opened out flat, so that the margins on the extreme right and left are really the same edge of the stone. Thick lines indicate where the edge is preserved, dotted lines where it is missing. The dimensions are not to scale.

5  
 ἸΠΟΙ  
 ΗΥΠΟΡΑ  
 ΚΑΙΛΙΘ  
 ΚΑΤΑΜΕ  
 ΜΙΞΘΟΜΑ  
 ΑΝΕ//...//Ν//  
 ΓΑΡΛ...//Ν//

```

APX L/_ _
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```

In ll. 1 and 2 we may restore *ὑποργοῖς*, as in two fragments of the Parthenon Building-record (*I.G.* i. 301 *ad fin.*, *ὑποργ[οῖς]*; i. 327, l. 5, *τοῖς ὑποργοῖς*). In l. 3, *καὶ λιθ[οτόμοις]*. In ll. 4 and 5 perhaps *καταμέ-  
[νια] | μισθόμ[ατα]*.<sup>2</sup> For l. 6 *ἀνε . . . γ - -* I have nothing to suggest. In l. 7, *[π]αρ[έδο]μ[εν]*: there is no doubt that the fourth letter was Ε and the seventh Μ. I have indicated above how ll. 8-10 are to be restored,

<sup>2</sup> Cf. κατ]αμενιον, (case ?), *I.G.* i. 311, l. 5.

but the remains of ll. 11-15 are past recovery: the earlier part of them contained no doubt the names of the ἐπιστάται of the year.

Before we attempt to discover to what part of the *stèle* which records the building operations on the Propylaea our new fragment belongs, it will be necessary to describe the other fragments which survive from it. The uppermost part of the slab has long been known (*I.G.* i. 314, 315). It is inscribed on both sides, i. 314 giving us what is left of the accounts of the first year, and i. 315 those of the fourth year. Thus there is no doubt that the front or obverse face records the operations of the first three years (436 5-434 3), and the reverse those of the last two (433 2-432 1<sup>1</sup>). A second fragment is *I.G.* i. 554, shown by Kirchhoff to contain part of the list of receipts from some year of a Building-record. It unquestionably belongs to that of the Propylaea. Two more small fragments from the same *stèle* were recently identified by Bannier<sup>2</sup> and proved to belong together (*I.G.* i. 316 + i. Suppl. 331 *d*), though the disappearance of the former prevented this join from being actually verified on the stones themselves. They likewise give us part of the receipts of one of the years: the items will be referred to again later. Two other larger fragments have also been published, both opisthographous (*I.G.* i. 312, 313, and i. Suppl. 315 *abc*), which Kirchhoff wished to assign to our *stèle*, but decided not to, on the ground of the difference in thickness between them and the upper part of the slab. The second of these contains, nevertheless, the word Προπύλαια, and Kirchhoff suggested plausibly enough that this might very well be from the lower part of the same *stèle*, if it decreased in thickness from the bottom upwards.<sup>3</sup> This suggestion apparently met with no approval, and we find that Bannier states definitely that *I.G.* i. Suppl. 315 *abc* could not belong possibly to the Propylaea-records.<sup>4</sup> Cavaignac<sup>5</sup> follows him in this categorical statement, in which he includes also *I.G.* i. 312, 313.

In studying the fragments of Building-records in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens in the hopes of identifying, if possible, the stone to which my new fragment belonged, before I was certain that it was part of

<sup>1</sup> As is noted, *I.G.* i. *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 302-3, No. 3.

<sup>3</sup> K. says finally: 'Vix mihi tempero quin hanc particulam esse censeam monumenti operis Propylaeorum.'

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitt., loc. cit.* 'iv.<sup>1</sup> S. 38, Nr. 315 *a-c* gehört sicher nicht zur Baurechnung der Propyläen, da die Dicke des Steines eine verschiedene ist, und auch die Anordnung abweicht.'

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* Introd. p. lxxi.

the Propylaea-record, I was struck by its similarity, both in the shape and size of the letters and in the appearance of the surface of the marble, to *I.G.* i. Suppl. 315 *c*. It also resembled the right-hand fragment of the two put together by Bannier to which I have alluded, and this seemed to imply that all these three fragments might belong to the same record. In spite of the recent views as to *i. Suppl.* 315 *abc*, the simplest solution of the dilemma was clearly to agree with Kirchhoff and attribute it after all to the Propylaea-record. With this view I took a few measurements of the thickness both of this stone and of *I.G.* i. 312, 313, as well as of the unquestioned upper portion of the *stèle* (*i.* 314, 315). I was surprised and not displeased to find that they *all* tapered appreciably, although this important fact has nowhere been recorded, and to such an extent that it would be possible to gain some idea of the original dimensions of the *stèle*, now that the confirmation of Kirchhoff's suggestion demanded the attribution of these rejected fragments to the Propylaea-record. My measurements of these three fragments will show conclusively, I hope, that no further doubt is possible as to the correctness of this attribution. The thickness of *I.G.* i. 314, 315 is, at the top, '11, and 35 cmm. below the top<sup>1</sup>, '13. That of *I.G.* i. 312, 313 is, at the top, '14, and near the bottom (about 30 cmm. lower<sup>2</sup>) '155. That of *i. Suppl.* 315 *abc*, is at the top, '17, and near the bottom (*ca.* 30 cmm. lower) '185. Thus the thickness decreases from the bottom upwards about '01 in '20 in the two lower fragments, and apparently '01 in '175 in the top fragment. This shows that between the two lower fragments, not more than '30 is missing, and about '175-'20 between the uppermost of these and the top piece of the *stèle*. Thus the height of the whole *stèle* was about '35 + '175 + '31 + '30 + '30 = 1'435 metres, with a possibility of its having been slightly more, as the lower fragment is not complete below.

Now, of these three large fragments, *I.G.* i. 314, *i.* 313, and *i. Suppl.* 315 *ab* belong to the obverse face of the slab, which was worked more smooth than the back or reverse face (which has moreover been more discoloured by weathering). The other fragments, namely *I.G.* i. 554, the two joined by Bannier, and the stone which I am at present discussing, are smaller, and, as they nowhere preserve their original thickness, are harder to place, but we may hope to obtain further light from the evidence of their contents. It is noteworthy that among the fragments remaining from this

<sup>1</sup> The lowest point at which the thickness could be satisfactorily measured.

<sup>2</sup> The height is wrongly given in the *Corpus* as '13: it should be '31.

record we have more items from the various lists of receipts than from those of the expenditure. Some of the former are peculiar to the Propylaea-accounts, and thus facilitate the restoration of the text where they occur. For example we have three allusions to receipts under the heading *οίκιας hierās misθós*. Though the phrase is never found complete, there is no doubt as to the correctness of the restoration<sup>1</sup>, and we may note further that in the second of these passages it follows, and in the third precedes, the remains of the phrase *πινάκων τιμέ*<sup>2</sup>.

Here then is the reference to the rent received for the 'sacred house,' which I will not attempt here to identify, in two years' receipts from the obverse of the stone, and in one from the reverse. Now we saw above that *I.G.* i. 312, 313 occupied a space less than halfway down the *stèle* when intact, and as there cannot be more than about nine lines<sup>3</sup> lost between the top of this fragment and the bottom of *I.G.* i. 314, 315, we may be fairly certain that the *λήμματα* of year IV. (*I.G.* i. 315) continue on into the top of *I.G.* i. 312, or, in other words, that *I.G.* i. 312 is from the accounts of the fourth year, and that consequently the inscription on the back of the same stone (i. 313) is from the second year's record. It cannot be from that of the first year, as in *I.G.* i. 314, ll. 9, 10 the expenses of that year begin, the receipts being apparently confined to the items in ll. 7, 8.

We may note also the following phrase which occurs three times among the receipts of different years: *παρὰ ἑλληνοταμιδῶν hoîs - - ἐγραμμάτενε - -, τὸ χσμμαχικὸ φόρο, μνᾶ ἀπὸ (τὸ, once omitted) ταλάντο*.<sup>4</sup> The first of these is from the receipts of year IV., and the second apparently from year V.; the third can only be from year II. or III., but between these two it is impossible to decide upon internal evidence alone.

It will now be possible to discuss the position to be assigned to our new fragment. I have mentioned already that the surface of the marble resembles that of the fragments which I attribute to the reverse face of the *stèle*, and as this contained only years IV. and V. of the record, our

<sup>1</sup> *I.G.* i. 312, l. 6; i. 313, l. 2; i. 314, l. 6. Cavaignac, *op. cit.* Introd. p. lxx. restores [χῶρ]as in the third of these passages, in order to correspond with the spacing of the letters in [ὄνη]μάτων in l. 9, 'quoiqu'il faille supposer alors l'I de *πινάκων* en surcharge.'

<sup>2</sup> Cavaignac, *loc. cit.* for the restoration [πινά]κων τιμή compares i. 313, l. 8 without of course admitting this as a fragment of the same record, and therefore without seeing that in the following line *οίκιας* points the way to the restoration *οίκιας* and not *χῶρας* in i. 314, where we now find no difficulty arising from the I of *πινάκων* being 'en surcharge.'

<sup>3</sup> Nine lines occupy not less than 20 cmm.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.* i. 315, ll. 11-12; i. 316+i. Suppl. 331d, ll. 7-9; i. 554, ll. 3-5.

fragment can only contain the end of the expenses of year IV. and the introduction to the accounts of year V. Its position must have been below *I.G.* i. 312, which seems fixed to year IV. without doubt, and moreover almost immediately below it, as the space missing between this fragment and the top of i. Suppl. 315 *abc* is not enough to accommodate more than our present fragment and those joined by Bannier, which presumably record what is left from the receipts of the fifth year. In fact it is more than likely that the lower end of our new fragment overlapped with, if it did not actually join, these two.<sup>1</sup>

In l. 1 of i. Suppl. 315 *c* we have probably the remains of an item from among the payments, which is perhaps to be restored [λιθοτόμοις Πε]ντελῆσι. The other two lines of this face of the fragment seem to contain, as Kirchhoff suggested, the final statement of the financial position at the conclusion of the building operations.<sup>2</sup>

We may now give the restoration of our fragmentary inscription as far as is possible.

[*hν*]πο[ρ]γοῖς -  
*hν*πορ[γ]οῖς -  
 καὶ λιθ[ο]τόμοις  
 καταμέ[ν]ια  
 5 μισθόμ[α]τα (?)  
 ἀνε . . . ν - -  
 [π]αρ[έ]δο]μ[ε]ν - -  
       *ἵκαναί.*  
 Ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης] ἀρχ[ῆς] *hēi* - - ἐγραμμάτευε - -  
 . . . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς] βολῆς *hēi* Κριτιάδες Τειθράσιος π-  
 10 ρότης ἐγραμμάτε]νε · ἐ[πιστάται] - - -  
 -----

The remaining letters are of no value for the restoration. Possibly the Π of *πρῶτος* was inserted at the beginning of l. 10, but this would break the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement of the first few letters of the line, and moreover, if we retain it in l. 9, we have forty-three letters to the line, as in the preamble to the accounts of year IV. I restore the name Κριτιάδες as *γραμματεὺς βουλῆς* from the Parthenon Building-record of this year

<sup>1</sup> I regret that I had no time to test this point on the actual stones.

<sup>2</sup> I venture to differ from Kirchhoff in not classing l. 1 under the same explanation as ll. 2 and 3.

(*I.G.* i. Suppl. 300-302 A), and his demotic from i. Suppl. p. 30 (Note on *I.G.* i. 179), and the fact that these exactly fit the space is a further proof, were any needed, that this fragment belongs to year V.

A difficulty which I have hitherto passed over is the arrangement of the entries in *I.G.* i. Suppl. 315 *ab*. They were clearly divided into two columns, and this striking divergence from the arrangement of the contents of the rest of the stone seemed to confirm, as Bannier pointed out, the apparently fatal objection of the difference in thickness, which led to the exclusion, noticed above, of this fragment from the Propylaea-record. But the following simple explanation seems the true one: when the stone-cutter saw that the accounts of years II. and III. threatened to overrun the space at his disposal, he divided them into two columns, of which the left-hand one was moved close to the edge of the stone, and the length of the lines was considerably reduced, though the size of the letters was maintained unaltered. Apparently the division into two columns did not begin at the beginning of the accounts of year II., for we have in *I.G.* i. 554 the remains of a list of receipts which when restored contains about twenty-eight letters to the line,<sup>1</sup> as do the fragments of the receipts from years IV. and V. (*I.G.* i. 315; i. 316+i. Suppl. 331 *d*); and as we saw above that this fragment could only belong to years II. or III., and that moreover the accounts of year III. are drawn up in double columns, there is no alternative to the conclusion that *I.G.* i. 554 is from the receipts of year II. and therefore must be placed above *I.G.* i. 313, which also contains different items of the receipts of the same year. It is quite possible, though I cannot be certain at this distance from the stone, that the double-columned arrangement is used in *I.G.* i. 313, for the restorations do not demand so long a line as one of twenty-eight letters.<sup>2</sup> If this supposition is correct, the change from one column to two was made almost immediately below the bottom of the fragment *I.G.* i. 554, as it nearly occupies the space vacant between the bottom of *I.G.* i. 314 and the top of *I.G.* i. 312, after we allow the space of a few lines for the introduction to the accounts of the second year. In *I.G.* i. Suppl. 315 *b* we have apparently the heading introducing the accounts of year III. followed by the remains of three sums received (ΜΜ - - + ΜΜ - - + Μ- -) amounting to at least

<sup>1</sup> There could not be room for a second column on the stone in addition to one twenty-eight letters wide *plus* the corresponding figures in the margin and space separating them.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* l. 8, πινάκο[ν τιμέ]; l. 9, οίκίας [ἑκατὸς μισθός].

50,000 drachmae. We have no clue to the source of this income, but such large sums probably came rather from some state-treasury than from private generosity. The last two lines of the stone, in which only the letters -ποιο- and -κυκ- are preserved, were written across the whole width of the *stèle*, i.e. a return was made to the single-columned arrangement. I am strongly inclined to restore some phrase like that which I suggest in ll. 3, 4 of the second of the two fragments from the Parthenon accounts published above, namely [ἡδο]ποιο[ίς καὶ λίθος ἀνατιθέσι | ἐπὶ τὰ] κύκ[λα Πεντελῆσι -, which gives us twenty-seven letters in the former line, but would bring the first Κ of κύκλα under the second Ο, not the Π, of [ἡδο]ποιοίς. The explanation of this return to the use of a single column seems to be that the left-hand column stopped short above this point, and that the stonecutter wished to take advantage of all the space he had left him.

It will perhaps be helpful to append, in conclusion, a skeleton-reconstruction of the whole *stèle* on the lines indicated in this paper. Our *data* are not sufficient for us to claim to replace exactly all these much-damaged fragments in the positions they originally occupied, but it will represent to within a very few centimetres, above or below, the positions to which they seem to belong. Further discoveries of fresh fragments are not impossible, which might enable us to fix more exactly the positions of the existing fragments, but the reconstruction outlined here will, I hope, be helpful for further study of this record.

A.—(Obverse face, 436/5-434/3.)

Year I. *I.G.* i. 314.  
 „ „ (A few lines lost.)  
 Year II. *I.G.* i. 554.  
 „ „ ( ? ) A line or two lost.)  
 „ „ *I.G.* i. 313 ( ? ) 2 columns.  
 „ „ (A few lines lost.) 2 columns.  
 Years II. and III. *I.G.* i. Suppl. 315 *a, b.* 2 columns.  
 Years II. and III. (A few lines lost.)

B.—(Reverse face, 433/2-432/1.)

Year IV. *I.G.* i. 315.  
 „ „ (A few lines lost.)  
 „ „ *I.G.* i. 312.  
 „ „ (A few lines lost.)  
 Years IV. and V. New fragments.  
 Year V. *I.G.* i. 316 + i. Suppl. 331 *d.*  
 „ „ ( ? ) A line or two lost.)  
 „ „ *I.G.* i. Suppl. 315 *c.*  
 „ „ ( ? ) A few lines lost.)

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## A PANATHENAIC AMPHORA FROM KAMEIROS.

(PLATE XIII.)

WHEN travelling in the island of Rhodes some ten years ago Dr. Duncan Mackenzie picked up on the Akropolis of Kameiros a handful of sherds, which I recently had occasion to examine. I found that several of them fitted together, and formed portions of an Attic b.-f. vase. The remains of one side represented a draped female figure standing to the left, and bearing a shield, with a pillar in front of her, while the five fragments of which the other portion consisted represented three armed men running to the left. In other words, here was a fragmentary Panathenaic amphora, recording a victory in the Armed Race.<sup>1</sup>

As the illustrations <sup>2</sup> show (Pl. XIII.), this belongs to the early class of Panathenaic amphorae, and since there are not many others of this period which represent the Armed Race,<sup>3</sup> it seems worth while to publish it, fragmentary though it is. The vase when complete was of small dimensions, the height of the painted panel representing the race being only '135 m., which suggests that the original height was not more than '30 m. Such dimensions are not rare for these vases, though the larger size which

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mackenzie, whom I informed of the interest of the sherds, kindly gave me permission to bring them to England. They have been successfully cleaned and mended and are now, with his consent, deposited in the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>2</sup> From the brush of Mr. F. Anderson.

<sup>3</sup> (1) *B.M. Vases*, B 143 (from Gela) (= Von Brauchitsch, *Über die Panathenaischen Preis-amphoren*, p. 30, No. 32). (2) Bologna, Pellegini, *Cat. Mus. Civ.* 198, and p. 29, Fig. 2 (= Von Br. *op. cit.* No. 17). (3) Naples, Heydemann, 2764 (= Von Br. *op. cit.* No. 39). (4) (5) Stephani, *Compte rendu*, 1876, pp. 105 ff. Nos. 33, 34 (= Von Br. *op. cit.* Nos. 52, 53, present whereabouts unknown, but excavated in Etruria).

varies from '40-70 m. in height is that with which we are more familiar. The absence of the inscription *τὸν Ἀθηνᾶθεν ἄθλον* is characteristic of these smaller Panathenaic amphorae, and indeed leads the most recent writer on the subject<sup>1</sup> to class all the uninscribed vases of this class as imitations, and not as prizes from the Panathenaic games at all. But in the absence of certain proof of this statement, it is simpler, on the whole, to continue to regard the smaller uninscribed amphorae which actually represent victories in athletic contests as genuine prize-vases, and our present example comes under this category.

Of the scene on one side nothing is left of Athena beyond a portion of her garment from the waist downwards, and the lower part of the shield. The vertical folds of the skirt are represented with alternating stripes of black and the accessory red, and on the black folds are alternate dots of red and small incised crosses. The treatment in the matter of plain vertical folds resembles in general that exhibited on Nos. B 131, B 134, and B 135 of the Panathenaic vases in the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> and is not unlike that of the fine amphora found at the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos at Sparta in 1907,<sup>3</sup> though this has no ornament on the skirt. On the Armed Race amphora in the British Museum<sup>4</sup> the skirt is not ornamented, and the general effect is less pleasing. Athena's shield bears a design of four white disks, three being placed at equal intervals around a slightly smaller central one. This identical scheme does not occur elsewhere, to my knowledge, as a shield-device, though Von Brauchitsch mentions a device consisting of three white disks on Athena's shield, on another archaic vase of this class.<sup>5</sup> The shield of the third runner on the Armed Race amphora in the British Museum exhibits the same design. The pillar in front of Athena is broken towards the top, and there are only the barest traces visible of the tail-feathers of the cock which it supported, and of the edge of the capital on the side nearest to Athena.

On the other side is a representation of the Armed Race. Three *ὀπλιτοδρόμοι*, clad in helmet and greaves and carrying each a round shield, race to the left, as on the archaic Panathenaic amphorae which

<sup>1</sup> Von Brauchitsch, *op. cit.* p. 159. He does not seem to me to prove his case, as it is hardly credible that imitations of the genuine article would have been dedicated in sanctuaries.

<sup>2</sup> B 131 has red dots; B 134 has a pattern of dotted crosses.

<sup>3</sup> *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 150, and Pl. V.

<sup>4</sup> B 143.

<sup>5</sup> No. 15 in his list (=Canino Coll. 1193, present whereabouts unknown).

relate to this contest.<sup>1</sup> The winner, if this is meant to represent the finish of the race, beats the second man by the same distance as he in turn beats the third, so far as we can tell from the position of the left leg of the last man, which alone is preserved. It is more likely that there were three runners represented here than four, as the panel could hardly have contained room for a fourth, judging by the diameter of the vase, so far as we can recover it. Both numbers are known in these representations, which cannot be taken as depicting the total number of competitors, which was sometimes as large as twenty.<sup>2</sup> Three of the five archaic Armed Race amphorae mentioned above show four runners, while the other two show three.<sup>3</sup> Of the two fourth-century vases of this class one shows three and the other four.<sup>4</sup>

The crests of the helmets are shown in white, and there are white devices on the shields: that of the foremost runner consists of two plain vertical bars parallel to each other, while that of the second runner is too fragmentary to be recognizable, being merely a shapeless mass of white paint. The greaves are what we should expect in representations of *ὀπλιτοδρόμοι* on a vase of this date, which cannot on stylistic grounds be later than 500 B.C., and may be twenty years earlier still. Hauser<sup>5</sup> has established the fact that they disappear entirely from representations of this race after 450 B.C., but this *terminus ante quem* is of minor importance in the present instance.

The drawing of this side does not call for much comment, the work being careless, but not unattractive: the eye is represented by means of incisions as seen *en face*, and there is no accessory red used for the beard. The outlines of the helmet are denoted by incised lines, as are the upper and lower extremities of the greaves. The artist has avoided the necessity of representing the trunks of the runners by hiding them completely with the shields, which cover everything between neck and thigh. The fingers

<sup>1</sup> As Von Brauchitsch points out, *op. cit.* p. 138, the *ὀπλιτοδρόμοι* run to the left (whereas the competitors in the other running events represented on the archaic Panathenaic vases run to the right), in order to exhibit the blazons on the shields.

<sup>2</sup> We hear of twenty shields and helmets being kept at Olympia for the competitors: at Athens there may have been as many competitors on some occasions. There was no limit, as in the stade-race.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 3, 4, and 5 of those mentioned above (*i.e.* the Naples vase and the two that are missing) have four runners, Nos. 1 and 2 have three.

<sup>4</sup> *B.M. Vases*, B 608 has four, Von Br. *op. cit.* No. 106 (in the Louvre) has three.

<sup>5</sup> *Jahrb.* 1895, p. 199.

of the right hand project beyond the lower edge of the shield, but otherwise the right arm is hidden. We may contrast with this the treatment on the British Museum vase, B 143, where the shield is carried further forward, so that more than half the bodies of the runners are seen; to simplify the drawing their backs are turned three-quarters to the spectator, though the head is strictly in profile. We see there moreover that the runner swung his right arm well behind him as he advanced his left leg: in the case of the third runner the vase-painter has miscalculated the space for the right arm, which, if drawn in the position of those of the other two runners, would have extended right out of the panel, and so it is bent down closer to his flank, and for the same reason the right leg is cut off above the ankle, as the foot and ankle could not be worked into the panel without re-drawing the whole figure, or else utterly spoiling the action of the right leg. That the artist worked from left to right across the panel is also obvious from the right arm of the first man on the left being visible through the paint of the second man's shield. We may further note that the runners take shorter strides in proportion to their height than the runners represented on the new example. Indeed in the latter there must be some exaggeration in this detail, as, I imagine it would be a physical impossibility to take such long strides when hampered both by the wearing of greaves and by the weight of the shield. On both these two vases they run well on their toes, in striking contrast to the flat-footed action of the *ὀπλιτοδρόμοι* of the fourth century in the British Museum vase (B 608), whose stride is much shorter.

The present vase adds nothing to our knowledge of the conditions governing the Armed Race, which are fully set forth by E. Norman Gardiner in his recent work<sup>1</sup>, accompanied by admirably selected illustrations. But the provenance of the vase is interesting, for we have already a Panathenaic amphora from Kameiros recording a victory with a four-horse chariot<sup>2</sup>; and the curious amphora with the acrobatic scene<sup>3</sup>, likewise found at Kameiros, though its precise significance is doubtful, is at any rate a further testimony to the interest of the people of Kameiros in the Panathenaic festival in the sixth century. The only other point worthy of note is in connection with the size of the vase. If we are right in assuming

<sup>1</sup> *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, pp. 285 ff.; *J.H.S.* xviii. (1903), pp. 280 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M. Vases*, B 135.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* B 145; E. Norman Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 245, Fig. 39.

that the absence of the inscription is not necessarily a fatal objection to seeing in this vase an actual prize-amphora, we have definite ground for concluding that the small-sized vases of this class were not always, though they may have been sometimes, given as prizes in the boys' events, for there was no Armed Race for boy-competitors. This fact clears the ground to a small extent with regard to the smaller vases, and if there was a real reason, connected with the organization of the festival, for the prize-vases differing in size, the present instance (assuming always that it *is* a prize-vase) seems to lend support to the theory that the smaller Panathenaic amphorae may represent second prizes.<sup>1</sup> But in the present state of our knowledge it would be hazardous to claim that this was the only possible explanation.



FIG. 1.—FRAGMENTS OF FOURTH-CENTURY PANATHENAIC AMPHORAE FROM ATHENS.

I may perhaps take this opportunity of recording the existence of two inscribed fragments of fourth-century Panathenaic amphorae which I obtained recently in Athens. Their dimensions are small, but they are clearly from two different vases<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 1). One has the letters ΑΘΛΩΝ,

<sup>1</sup> As has been suggested by E. Norman Gardiner, *op. cit.* p. 244; Von Brauchitsch rejects this explanation, classing them as imitations.

<sup>2</sup> (a) 11 × 08 × 006–007 m.: clay of dirty greyish-brown colour: black paint which has fired dark-green near the edges; (b) 10 × 77 × 005 m.: clay of typical Attic pink colour: black paint verging on sepia near the edges: broken across near the bottom of the A. I could not hear what had happened to the rest of the vases. In the unlikely contingency of either or both being preserved in some European Museum I will gladly supply these fragments to fill the gap, but I fear they were broken up on the spot by unskilful hands.

and the other  $\Xi\text{NA}\Theta\Lambda\Omega\text{N}$  (*i.e.* the end, in each case, of the inscription  $\text{Τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων}$ ), written  $\kappa\iota\omicron\nu\eta\gamma\delta\acute{o}\nu$  down the space to the left of the column. To the right of the column is in each case a portion of the spear and of the drapery of Athena. The spear was held vertically, and the drapery is quite plain, without a trace of ornament. They were found near the Dipylon, I was told, and are worth recording as accessions to the not very long list of these vases found in Athenian tombs<sup>1</sup>, as we may presume that these were. In this connection the fragment with the name of the Archon Neaichmos, published by D. M. Robinson,<sup>2</sup> should be added to this list: from the appearance of the clay it seems to belong to a different vase from either of the two fragments here described.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Von Brauchitsch, *op. cit.* pp. 162, 163.

<sup>2</sup> *A.J.A.* xii. (1908), p. 47.

## A NOTE ON HERODOTOS VI. 83, AND THE HYBRISTIKA.

HERODOTOS describes the straits to which Argos was reduced by the victory of Kleomenes I. in the following extravagant terms: "Ἀργος δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐξηρώθη οὕτω ὥστε οἱ δοῦλοι αὐτῶν ἔσχον πάντα τὰ πρήγματα ἄρχοντες τε καὶ διέποντες, ἐς ὃ ἐπήβησαν οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες· ἔπειτα σφέας οὗτοι ἀνακτώμενοι ὀπίσω ἐς ἑωυτοὺς τὸ Ἄργος ἐξέβαλον· ἐξωθεύμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι μάχη ἔσχον Τίρυνθα. τέως μὲν δὴ σφι ἦν ἄρθμια ἐς ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δούλους ἦλθε ἀνὴρ μάντις, Κλέανδρος γένος ἐὼν Φιγαλεὺς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· οὗτος τοὺς δούλους ἀνέγνωσε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι δεσπότησι. ἐκ τούτου δὴ πόλεμός σφι ἦν ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνόν, ἐς ὃ δὴ μόγις οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεκράτησαν. Herodotos is given to exaggerating catastrophes. Mr. Wells has drawn attention to the fact that in 491 B.C. Argos was sufficiently populous to allow 1000 volunteers to take part in the war in Aigina.<sup>1</sup> This extremity of ὀλιγανδρία, which the historian depicts, must be a fiction. Even in antiquity the attention of critics was drawn to the passage. Plutarch corrects Herodotos' statement about the story of the slave husbands, and gives a version which mitigates the glaring improbability of this part of the narrative by substituting *περιοῖκοι* for slaves.<sup>2</sup> Doubtless he had Aristotle before him. The philosopher does not mention Herodotos, but it is quite probable that the version, which he gives, is simply a rationalised account adopted by post-Herodotean historians, who could not accept, as it stood, the tradition which Herodotos embodied.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, vi. 92, *J.H.S.* xxv. p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπανορθούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὀλιγανδρίαν, οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἱστορεῖ τοῖς δούλοις, ἀλλὰ περιοίκων ποιησάμενοι πολίτας τοὺς ἀρίστους, συνώκισαν τὰς γυναῖκας —Plut. *Mul. Virt.* 245, F.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν Ἀργεὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ ἀπολομένων ὑπὸ Κλεομένους τοῦ Λάκωνος ἡναγκάσθησαν παραδέξασθαι τῶν περιοίκων τινάς.—Aristotle, *Politics* v. 3.

But the story of the slaves who marry the wives of the dead or absent warriors is not merely an exaggerated account of a single incident in history, it is a regular myth-historical *motiv*. Herodotos has already given us a version of it in connection with the Skythian invaders of Asia,<sup>1</sup> and more familiar still is the story of the Partheniai who founded Tarentum.

The passage in Plutarch contains further legendary elements. He tells how the women of Argos took up the arms of warriors in defence of their country, and proceeds to inform his readers that it is in memory of this act that they keep the Hybristika to this day, the women dressing themselves in men's clothing, the men putting on women's robes and veils.<sup>2</sup> He further connects the custom, which ordained that Argive brides should wear a beard, with the contempt of free born women for *περίοικοι* husbands.<sup>3</sup> History has become suspiciously like an aitiological myth.<sup>4</sup>

It is a thankless task to evolve history out of the inner consciousness, where our authorities fail us. The historical facts, however, round which the tradition has formed, seem possibly to be these. (1) Some *perioikoi* may have been admitted to the citizenship after the disaster. (2) About 472 B.C. the sack of Tiryns concluded a struggle which the mistress of the North-Eastern Peloponnese may well have represented as the chastisement of unruly slaves. The more picturesque features of the tradition are, I believe, to be derived from the existence at Argos of a festival at which men and women changed the clothes of their sex and slaves enjoyed a temporary freedom. There are analogous cases, where a ritual practice has inspired an historical narrative even of considerable circumstantial detail. To take one example, Aubrey narrates the following fact about the 'Parliament's War' in Ireland. 'Near the same place a Party of the Protestants had been surprised sleeping by the Popish Irish, were it not for several wrens that just wakened them by dancing and pecking on the Drums as the Enemy were approaching. For this Reason the wild Irish mortally hate these Birds to this Day, calling them the Devil's Servants and killing them wherever they catch them. They teach their Children to thrust them full of Thorns: you'll see sometime on Holidays a whole Parish running like Mad Men from Hedge to Hedge a Wren-Hunting.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Herodotos, iv. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *op. cit.* 245, E.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *op. cit.* 245, F.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Herodotos' account of the taboos observed by Milesian women, i. 146.

<sup>5</sup> Aubrey, *Miscellanies, Ostenta or Portents*, p. 45.



Now Aubrey was born in 1625 and travelled in Ireland in 1660, where he may have witnessed the hunting of the wren. The creation of such legendary history then is not necessarily a matter of many years, and if in this respect Aubrey is as easily imposed upon as Herodotos, he is equally a sinner with Plutarch against the comparative method. The custom of wearing the clothes of the other sex, as will be seen, was not restricted to Argos and the Hybristika; the hunting of the wren was commonly observed as an annual custom in many parts of Aubrey's own island.<sup>1</sup>

The temporary assumption of the clothes of the opposite sex is a custom which is widely spread. In certain circumstances individuals change the outward garb of their sex; in some cases whole societies simultaneously effect the change. In the former category we find the practice observed at the great individual crises of life and the changing of social status. At circumcision Egyptian boys were dressed in girls' attire;<sup>2</sup> perhaps the story about Aristodemos, tyrant of Kymai, reflects a similar observance.<sup>3</sup> Among the Nandî, before the boys are circumcised, 'the young girls pay them a visit and give them some of their own garments and ornaments,' and similarly the girls are given the clothes and ornaments of boys on a like occasion. The borrowed plumage is returned, when the girls and boys are respectively admitted into the new social status for which circumcision has qualified them.<sup>4</sup> It may be suspected that the story of how Teiresias, the greatest of Greek seers, was temporarily changed into a woman<sup>5</sup> may be connected with a similar element in the initiation of prehistoric medicine-men. There are of course countless parallels to the diviners of Skythia, who suffered from the *θήλεα νοῦσος*,<sup>6</sup> in those magicians of the Lower Culture, who wear women's clothes and are said to become women.<sup>7</sup> When the Krotoniates sacked Siris, they murdered the son of

<sup>1</sup> See Swainson, *The Folklore of British Birds*, pp. 36-43. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*,<sup>2</sup> ii. pp. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> *ιστόρηται γάρ, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας παῖδας ἐλευθέρους ἥσκει κόμαις καὶ χρυσοφορεῖν, τὰς δὲ θηλείας ἡνάγκαζε περιτρόχαλα κείρεσθαι καὶ φορεῖν ἐφηβικὰς χλαμύδας καὶ τῶν ἀνακώων χιτωνίσκων.* Plutarch, *Mul. Virt.* 261, E.

<sup>4</sup> Hollis, *The Nandî*, pp. 53, 58.

<sup>5</sup> Hesiod, frag. 162 (Kzach).

<sup>6</sup> Herodotos, i. 105, iv. 67. Aristotle, *Eth. Nik.* vii. 7. Hippokrates, *περὶ τῶν ἀέρων*, 22. For the meaning of the phrase *θήλεα νοῦσος* cf. Eusebios, *Vita Constantini*, iii. 55.

<sup>7</sup> Many instances may be found in Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, pp. 428 sq. Van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage*, p. 246. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (*Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xviii. p. 19).

the priestess of Athena, who was dressed in female garb.<sup>1</sup> I suspect myself that some similar ritual phenomenon accounts for the *μαλακία* of Telines, the ancestor of Gelo.<sup>2</sup>

The Lykians adopted the clothes of the other sex during the period of mourning.<sup>3</sup> The Roman women offered sacrifice to Mutinus Tutinus, a deity connected with marriage and fertility, with veiled heads and dressed in male clothes.<sup>4</sup> At Argos, as we have seen, the bride wore a beard : at Sparta the bride was disguised as a man.<sup>5</sup> At Kos the converse practice is found and the bridegroom was dressed in women's clothes.<sup>6</sup> With the change of clothes at marriage may be connected the stories which centre round the Lemnian deeds. Here the women kill the men, the men kill the women and children, and finally the Minyans of Lemnos are released from captivity by their wives changing clothes with them.<sup>7</sup> And again, as in the case of the Argive marriage custom, we have indications of a connection with a periodic festival.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. Crawley has interpreted the custom of changing the outward tokens of sex at marriage in the light of his preoccupation with the question of sexual taboo. The Lykian mourning custom he regards as a disguise or a concealment of identity from adverse influences. A similar explanation has been offered for the story of Achilles in Skyros, and the myth that Zeus sent Dionysos under the escort of Hermes to Athamas and Ino, who brought him up as a girl.<sup>9</sup> There is, however, a general motive which covers all these examples, and by no means excludes the coexistence of particular sub-motives. The rite is observed at circumcision, at marriage,

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Lykoph. 984.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotos says that the priesthood of the *χθόνιοι θεοί* was hereditary in Gelo's family because Telines, by the sheer force of his religious prestige, succeeded in restoring some victims of *stasis* to their native town, Gela. *θῶμά μοι ὦν καὶ τοῦτο γέγονε πρὸς τὰ πυνθάνομαι, κατεργάσασθαι Τηλίνην ἔργον τοσοῦτο· τὰ τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἔργα οὐ πρὸς ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς νερόμικα γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ψυχῆς τε ἀγαθῆς καὶ βώμης ἀνδρείης· ὁ δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τῆς Σικελίης τῶν οἰκητόρων τὰ ὑπεναντία τούτων πεφυκέναι θηλυδρίας τε καὶ μαλακώτερος ἀνὴρ.* Herodotos, vii. 153.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Cons. ad Apoll.* 112, F. Val. Max. ii. 6. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Festus, 154. Usener, *Gotternamen*, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 58. There may be a connection with the priests of Herakles who wore women's clothes. In connection with this marriage custom M. van Gennep remarks 'Le fiancé agissait tout comme les ménages de shamanes Koryak, où le mari est la femme et la femme le mari,' *op. cit.* p. 245.

<sup>7</sup> Herodotos, iv. 146, vi. 138. Plutarch, *Mul. Virt.* 247, B. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 55. Cf. the story of the sons of Aipyros and the parallels in Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. p. 242.

<sup>8</sup> Philostratos, *Herpic.* 740 Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. p. 302.

<sup>9</sup> Apollodoros, iii. 4. 3, 4.

in mourning, and perhaps at the initiation of seers. Even in the case of the Achilles story, the boy puts off his woman's weeds to take his place as a full-fledged warrior. The wearing of clothes proper to the other sex is in the instances we have quoted, a '*rite de passage*.' The Nandi circumcision rite is the clearest example. When the boys put on the girls' clothes, or the girls the boys,' it is a rite of separation (to use M. van Gennep's phrase) from their old life. During the period '*de marge*' the boy wears the girl's clothes, until he undergoes the final '*rite d'agrégation*' and appears in warrior's dress, the complete initiated man.

Now in the lives of societies, no less than in those of individuals, there are stages or periods, and the passing from one to the other is accompanied by rites of passage. There are, of course, the ceremonies of transition from winter to summer, and the festivals of the solstices. The belief in a series of cycles of varying duration is widely spread. The old becomes worn out, there must be a renovation, a transition to the new. The divine kings of Dr. Frazer reign for a season; Minos is a monarch for nine years. Again from the Nandi may be quoted an example of the simplest and least mystical form of this belief. Once every seven and a half years, some four years after the circumcision festival, the Saket-ap-eito ceremony takes place. The country is handed over from one age to another. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, the men of the preceding age take off their warriors' garments and put on those of old age. The defence and well-being of the community are thereby handed over to their successors.<sup>1</sup> The same idea of starting a fresh epoch with a clear and unencumbered opening is strongly marked in the Jewish observance of the year of Jubilee.<sup>2</sup> At Lemnos when the new fire was lit at the annual festival, 'they say that from that moment a new life is begun.'<sup>3</sup> Mr. Crawley has collected examples of festivals whose motive is 'to change the luck.' Such feasts may be held in abnormal circumstances, *e.g.* after an epidemic or a catastrophe, but they are ordinarily celebrated at regular intervals.<sup>4</sup> In the same category

<sup>1</sup> Hollis, *The Nandi*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Leviticus, xxv.

<sup>3</sup> All fires were for nine days extinguished and new fire brought from Delos. *ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ θεωρίας ἐσπλεύση καὶ γείμωνται τὸ πῦρ \* \* \* καινοῦ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν βίου φασὶν ἀρχεσθαι*. Philostratos, *Heroin*. 741. Similarly the lighting of the new fire at the Harvest Festival of the Creek Indians 'constituted a new period of time in their religious reckoning.' Speck, *The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town* (*Mem. Am. Anth. Ass.* ii. Pt. 2, p. 140).

<sup>4</sup> Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 279. He gives examples from the practices of Zulus, Kurnai, and Esquimaux.

must be placed the Saturnalia, the Feast of Fools, and the Carnival. General characteristics of these ceremonies are a complete change of the ordinary social order, a period of licence, and the interchange of gifts or the observance of mutual hilarity. A kind of interlude of topsy-turveydom cuts off society from the past and ushers in the new epoch with the good auspices of mirth and jollity. And a common feature of these periodic festivals is the donning of the clothes of the other sex. Let us take one or two examples. An interesting survival is the 'Geese dancing' of Cornwall and the Scillies, where the maidens dress up as young men and the young men as maidens. They visit houses, where they dance and everyone is 'told their own' without offence.<sup>1</sup> Men masquerade as women in the carnivals of Northern Africa.<sup>2</sup> In the seventh century the Greek church laid down the canon that 'no man is to put on feminine dress, nor any woman the dress proper to men, nor yet are masks whether comic, satyric, or tragic to be worn.'<sup>3</sup> It is significant for ancient Greece, that Artemidoros says that to dream of women's clothes bears an evil prognostication, except on feast days when coloured robes or female garments mean no harm to anybody.<sup>4</sup>

About these periodic festivals, besides the feeling of breaking with the past, there hangs the sentiment of unity, and society gathers itself together to launch into the new era in a spirit of harmony and goodwill. The interchange of presents or cards at Christmas or the New Year still serves in Modern Europe, as in Ancient Rome, to renew old friendships and to confirm the ties of family association. Cockney lovers change hats and Homeric heroes cement their friendship by an exchange of armour. There is perhaps just a hint of the same idea latent also in these festivals, where, if we may so express it, all the members of the community don each other's clothes. The treatment of slaves certainly bears this double aspect. At the Saturnalia<sup>5</sup> slaves are waited on by their masters. It is a reversal of the ordinary social order, while, again, in this promotion to equality, there is also the idea of unifying the whole body politic and the promotion of

<sup>1</sup> Hunt, *Drolls and Romances of the West of England*, 2nd Series, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Doutté, *Magie et Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, p. 502.

<sup>3</sup> Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν μέντοι ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν οὔτε ποικίλη οὔτε γυναικεία βλάπτει τινὰ ἐσθῆς. Artemidoros, *Oneir.* ii. 3, 84. He says above ἐσθῆς ἢ συνήθους πᾶσιν ἀγαθὴ καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἔραυ τοῦ ἔτους, ii. 3, 83.

<sup>5</sup> See Warde Fowler, *Festivals*, pp. 271-72.

peace and goodwill among all men, the area covered by the phrase 'all men' varying of course with the size of the community and the limits of its social sympathies. The psychology is much the same as that which perpetuates the servants' ball of the old-fashioned country Christmas. And the Saturnalia is not the only festival of antiquity in which slaves were given a temporary licence. Athenaios mentions five, the Saturnalia, the feast of Hermaioi in Crete, the feast at Troizen in the month Geraistios, in which slaves and masters play astragaloi together and the masters feast the slaves, the Thessalian Peloria, which Baton asserted to be the prototype of the Saturnalia, and the feast of Sakaia in Babylon.<sup>1</sup> Plutarch further mentions two festivals, the Eleutheria at Smyrna and a *ἐορτὴ θεραπαινῶν* at Rome, where the fact to be accounted for is again an interchange of garments: the slaves at these feasts dressed up as their mistresses. The legend, which in either case is put forward in explanation, is the story of the voluntary self-sacrifice of the slavewomen, in place of their mistresses, to the lusts of the enemy, and a resulting defeat of the invader.<sup>2</sup> In the Pithoigia at Athens neither slave nor hired man was to be debarred from enjoying the wine of the feast to his heart's content.<sup>3</sup>

Our information about these festivals and the like is sadly fragmentary and dependent on the chance comments of classical writers. Of the Hybristika all that is known further is that it was held on the first new moon of the month Hermaios. The date of this Argive month is believed roughly to coincide with the Attic Gamelion, which would place the festival in our January.<sup>4</sup> Again it is only the glosses of Hesychios which inform us of the dances in honour of the goddess Korythalia in Laconia, and in Italy, carried there perhaps by the Partheniai. The parallel to the Argive data is striking. In both we have the story of the slave husbands, in both the marriage custom of dressing up the bride as a man, and in both the existence of dances in which men and women change the rôles of their sex. Korythalia is a cult title of Artemis connected with a word which seems to have been the Laconian equivalent for *εἰρεσιώγη*. Her festival

<sup>1</sup> Athenaios, xiv. 44, 639, B. His authorities are Karystios (*F.H.G.* iv. 358), Baton of Sinope (*F.H.G.* iv. 349), Berosos (*F.H.G.* ii. 498), and Ktesias. The festival at Cretan Kydonia is referred to in a quotation from Ephoros (*F.H.G.* i. 242), Athenaios, vii. 84, 263, F.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Parallela*, 312, F, 313, B.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ἐστὶν ἐορτὴ πιθοιγία, καθ' ἣν οὔτε οἰκέτην οὔτε μισθωτὸν εἶργειν τῆς ἀπολαύσεως τοῦ οἴνου θεμιτὸν ἦν, ἀλλὰ θύσαντας πᾶσι μεταδιδόναι τοῦ δώρου τοῦ Διονύσου. Plutarch, *ex comm. Hes.* 35, *Moralia* (Teubner), vol. vii. p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 373.

was a spring festival conforming to the regular type and characterised evidently by ritual obscenity. In her dances the men wore female masks and women's clothes, the women wore *phalloi*.<sup>1</sup>

We have, unfortunately, no direct information as to whether slaves during the Hybristika enjoyed *παρρησία*, or a temporary freedom. The evidence of analogous feasts suggests that it is not improbable; and if this, the weakest link in the chain, be passed, the suggestion that from these prominent features of the Hybristika ritual the legends incorporated by Herodotos and Plutarch are originally derived, does not seem to me too far-fetched. In the case of the story of the women warriors, Plutarch himself connects it with the festival rites, and, if the story of the slave husbands has any fact behind it, it seems plausible to look for it in the same direction, and to find it in the temporary equality and licence of a periodic festival.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

<sup>1</sup> Hesychios, *s.v.* *κορυθαλία*, *κορυθαλίστριαι*, *κυριττοί*, *βρυλλιχιῶδες*, *βρυλλιχισταί*, *λόμβα*. Nilsson, *op. cit.* p. 186. *B.S.A.* xii. p. 338.

## TERRA LEMNIA.

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IN ancient medical practice several sorts of natural earths, found at various places in the Levant and described in detail by Pliny and other writers, had recognised curative properties, being employed for the most part as astringents and desiccatives in the treatment of wounds and internal haemorrhages. Pliny's list includes the earths of Chios, Kimolos, Eretria, Lemnos, Melos, Samos, and Sinope. The use of many of these persisted into quite modern times,<sup>1</sup> but none was so generally esteemed either by ancients or moderns as the Lemnian, which was set apart in the first place by its alleged miraculous power against poisons (especially the bites of venomous reptiles) and later against plague, and in the second by the religious accompaniments and the various artificial restrictions of its production.

Of the Lemnian earth Pliny, who happens to be our earliest authority, says it was highly reputed among the ancients,<sup>2</sup> but we have no

<sup>1</sup> The earth of Chios is mentioned in modern times by Jerome Justinian, a Chiote Genoese (*Hist. de Chio*, p. 68) as found near Pyrgi: 'En un autre terrouer du dit Pirgy se trouvoit autre fois la terre dite Chia laquelle a le mesme vertu que celle qu'on nomme Lemnia. Le Grand Turc s'en sert maintenant en son seau (sic).' Thevet (*Cosmog. du Levant*, p. 52) considered it as valuable medicinally as the Lemnian, which opinion was confirmed by Covell a hundred years later. The latter adds that the Chian earth was dug like the Lemnian at a special season (May, whence it was called *πηλομαϊότικο*), but was not used medicinally but only for washing (MS. *Add.* 22,914, f. 57v). It has now become almost unknown owing to the low price of olive-oil soaps, but is traditionally said to have been a government monopoly under the Genoese. 'Kimolian' earth is said by Dale (*Pharmacologia*, 1693) to have been found in England. In Samos, Pococke (ii. 2. 29) notices a white earth which was eaten by children in his day. Melian earth is mentioned by Sir Thomas Sherley in his account of the island (*B.S.A.* xiii. 347, cf. Pococke, *loc. cit.*). Sinopic earth (see Robinson in *A. J. Phil.* xxvii. 141, §4) is probably the Armenian bole mentioned by Dale and his contemporaries as coming 'from Turkey,' and by others (Poulet, etc.) as a frequent ingredient in sophisticated Lemnian earth. It is presumably the *Terra Savaenica* used by the Arabs against plague, and the *Αἷλ Ερμεν* which was foisted on me as Lemnian in the Egyptian bazaar at Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> *N.H.* xxxv. 6.

means of ascertaining how far back the use of it extends. It is interesting to note that the hill Moschylos on which it was found was associated in legend with the fall of Hephaistos, and that one version of the Philoktetes myth attributes the cure of the hero's wound, caused ultimately it will be remembered by the poison of the Lernaean hydra, to this medicine.<sup>1</sup>

With Dioskorides we begin to be better informed: he tells us the earth was found in a tunnel-like aperture in Lemnos, prepared with an admixture of goat's blood, and thereafter made up into tablets and stamped with the figure of a goat, whence came its popular name 'goat's seal.' It had a singular virtue against poisons if drunk with wine, and acted as an emetic when poison had already been swallowed. It was also sovereign against the bites of venomous reptiles and for dysentery.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that the chief use of it is here considered as antidotal.

It is from Galen<sup>3</sup> that we first hear of the ceremonies in connection with the digging of the earth, and his information rests on his own investigations in Lemnos itself, whither he went especially for this purpose. On a certain day, he says, the priestess (of Artemis apparently from the sequel) came out of the city (Hephaestias), sprinkled a certain quantity of barley on the place where the earth was dug, and performed other ceremonial observances, after which she took a cartload of the earth and returned to the city. Here the earth was cleansed and sealed with the figure of Artemis.<sup>4</sup> These usages were said in the island to be very ancient. The earth was locally used for ulcers (for which it was employed with success by Galen himself), for wounds, as an emetic, and for poisonous bites: for internal use it was drunk in wine, for external applied with vinegar. There were three grades, of each of which the first might be handled only by the priestess, the rest, like so many of the other earths cited by Pliny, being used industrially.

After Galen there is a complete silence among our authorities as to what happened at Lemnos.<sup>5</sup> The earth continues to be cited after the ancients and the use of reputed Lemnian Seal<sup>6</sup> or *Terra sigillata* persisted

<sup>1</sup> Philostratus, *Heroica*, vi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> V. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *De Simpl. Medic.* ix. 246.

<sup>4</sup> The goat's-blood story of Dioskorides was ridiculed; it was probably an inference from the seal he saw.

<sup>5</sup> The last of the ancients to mention the earth seems to be P. Aegineta, vii. 3 (s.v. *Ge, terra*).

<sup>6</sup> *Lempnia frigidos* in a mediaeval glossary quoted by Tozer, p. 260.



through the Middle Ages. Bartholomaeus Anglicus (13th c.) says of it:—

‘A serten veyne of the erthe is called Terra Sigillata, and is singularly cold and drie. And Dioscorides calleth it Terra Saracenica and argentea, and is somedeale white, well smellynge and clere. The chief virtue thereof byndeth and stauncheth. And powder thereof tempred with the whyte of an egge stauncheth bledynge at the nose. And helpeth ayenst swellinge of the fete and ayenste the gowte, if it be layed in a playstre thereto, as it is sayde in Lapidario.’<sup>1</sup>

It will be noted however that there is no evidence of first-hand know-

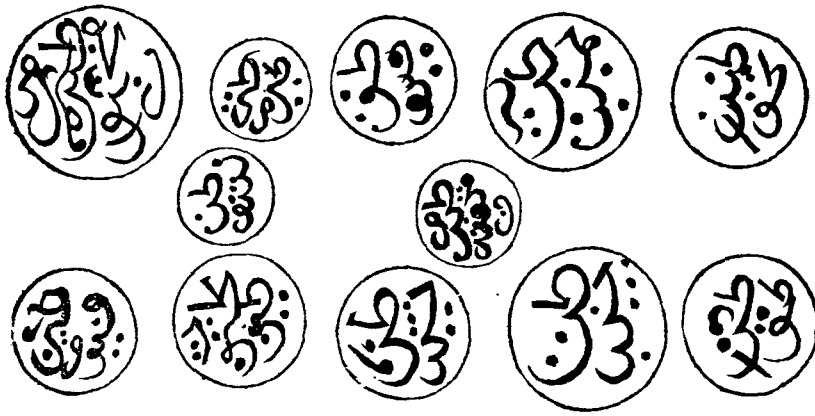


FIG. 1.—SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SEALS.  
(From Belon.)

ledge in the above account, still less mention of Lemnos. In fact the earliest first-hand mention of the Lemnian earth in a modern writer known to me is in the *Bermannus* of Agricola. The author, writing in 1530, says that he had seen tablets of Lemnian earth brought from Constantinople: they were of a yellowish colour and stamped with Turkish letters. The Turks held it to be the only remedy for plague, using it as the Arabs used Armenian bole. At Venice it was ill known but sold dear.

About the middle of the century we have circumstantial accounts of the digging of the earth written by two scientific men—Belon and Albacario—who like Galen went themselves to Lemnos to investigate it. The first of these began his researches systematically by gathering information at

<sup>1</sup> Lib. xv. cxxxix. lxxxviii. (ed. London, 1535).

Constantinople as to the various seals which guaranteed the quality of the earth, and these seals are engraved in his book for the benefit of the medical world (Fig. 1) Belon's account of the digging (at which however he was not present) is full and interesting as reproducing almost exactly—*mutatis mutandis*—the ancient ritual. The digging still took place only once a year, viz. at the festival of the Transfiguration (Aug. 6), and was preceded by a religious service at the church of the Saviour (which would naturally keep this day as its dedication festival) not far from the hill on which the earth was dug. The Turkish governor (Soubashi) of the island and the Turkish and Greek notables took part in the ceremony. A proclamation was made<sup>1</sup> and a sheep was sacrificed as *courban*, which was afterwards eaten by the Turks present, as the Greeks fasted at this time of year.<sup>2</sup> The digging began at or before sunrise and continued for six hours, after which the hole was closed and left till the next year. It was a penal offence to dig it out of season. The earth dug was cleansed and stamped with a seal bearing in Arabic letters the words *tin imachton* (sealed earth). Soranzo adds that it was baked.<sup>3</sup> Certain officers were allowed to take a share of it, and the bystanders a small quantity each, but the bulk of the earth, including the whole of the first quality,<sup>4</sup> was placed after sealing in a packet (also sealed) and sent to Constantinople by special messenger for the use of the Sultan.<sup>5</sup> A certain amount, presumably of inferior quality, was sold on the spot by the Soubashi to merchants.<sup>6</sup>

Our second authority, Stefano Albacario, was a Spanish physician<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This detail, with the text of the proclamation 'Le grand Dieu hault et tout puissant déclare aujourd'hui l'effect et vertue de ceste terre à ses très-fidèles serviteurs,' is preserved by Thevet (*Cosmog. Univ.* ii. 805), a bad authority, but his account seems derived from a good source beyond Belon. The characteristic dialogue with the Greek—*Frangi thes naqorasus apo tin gimou?* (Φράγκε, θέλεις να αγοράσῃς ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν μου;) etc. rings true.

<sup>2</sup> Till the 15 Aug. (Assumption).

<sup>3</sup> Formansi delle tre differenti sorti di terra, tre diverse sorti di gielle, . . . dando agli uni ed agli altri una cottura per maggior durata.

<sup>4</sup> Palerne.

<sup>5</sup> The Grand Signor habitually drank out of a cup made of the earth (Palerne) and it was grated over all his meals as a precaution against poison (Crusius, 501).

<sup>6</sup> The merchants are spoken of as Jews by Thevet (*Cosmog. Univ.*) and very likely were at this date. A hundred years later von Rheinfelden speaks of *Greeks* paying 18,000 dollars to the Sultan for the monopoly of it. From Belon's account it appears that the Soubashi paid a fixed sum and made what he could from the sale of the earth: it was evidently regarded, like mines all over the empire and certain other natural products, e.g. the mastic of Chios, as a perquisite of the Sultan who farmed it as he thought fit.

<sup>7</sup> Probably a Spanish Jew with a Christian name; the surname sounds like Arabic.

commissioned to go to Lemnos to investigate the earth by the Austrian ambassador Busbecq, who sent his account to Matthioli.<sup>1</sup> Albacario's account in the main corroborates Belon's. Interesting new details illustrating the religious aspect of the digging are (1) that the earth was supposed to have virtue only on the day chosen for the official digging,

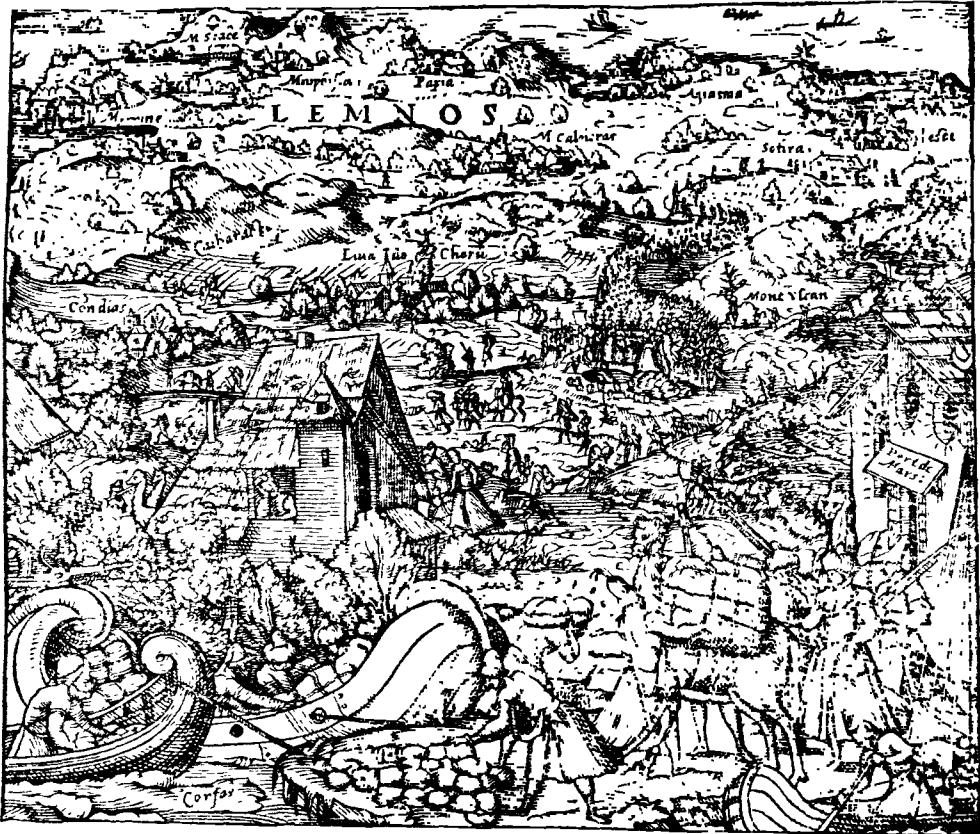


FIG. 2.—THE DIGGING OF THE LEMNIAN EARTH.  
(From Thevet.)

(2, that a special washer had the handling of the earth up to the time of its exportation, and (3) that this washer appropriated a small bag of the earth, which however was not sealed.

<sup>1</sup> Albacario made one attempt to go to Lemnos while Busbecq was still at Constantinople but was prevented. He must therefore have gone after 1562.

Both Belon and Busbecq probably owed their interest in and knowledge of the earth less to its repute in European pharmacy at their date than to the custom then current at the court of Constantinople of offering tablets of the earth as official presents to foreign ambassadors and other persons of quality. Thus we find recorded presents of *terre sigillée* to French ambassadors at various dates from 1546 onwards;<sup>1</sup> Busbecq, the patron of Albacario, was an ambassador and had moreover seen the earth successfully used against plague<sup>2</sup>. Slightly later von Ungnad, an Austrian ambassador, was given 40 tablets of Lemnian earth and a cup made of it<sup>3</sup> by Zygomalas, who also sent some to Crusius.

A long series of western travellers, as the bibliography below shows, subsequently interested themselves in the famous earth, none adding greatly to our knowledge but Covell, who appears to record a more superstitious belief in it than his forerunners. Whereas Albacario distinctly says that the religious service was not supposed to influence the power of the earth, Covell reports that 'several papas, as well as others, would have persuaded me that at the time of our Saviour's transfiguration, this place was sanctified to have His sacred earth, and that it is never to be found soft and unctuous, but always perfect rock unlesse only that day . . . and at that time when the priest hath said his liturgy.' Covell further gives minute particulars of the washing of the earth<sup>4</sup>; this was done at the fountain of the neighbouring village ('Αγία Τράτη), which, merely to increase the miracle apparently, was supposed to have an underground connection with the place of the digging. At this period it was accounted 'an infallible cure of all agues, taken at the beginning of the fit with water' and employed also for fluxes, to hasten childbirth, and as an antidote: no vessel made of it would hold poison but immediately splintered into a thousand fragments. The latter superstition has survived till our own day and is recorded also by several writers before and after Covell.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charrière, *Negotiations de la France en Levant*, i. 618, ii. 776, iii. 548; de la Vigne: cf. Belon, ch. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Forster's *Busbecq*, i. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Gerlach, *Tagebuch*, 403 (1577).

<sup>4</sup> See also the rather obscure account of Soranzo, which lays great stress on a water-channel diverted on the day of the digging, the earth being found apparently in the natural receptacle into which the water normally flowed: 'si devia l'acqua dal canale, acciò non scorra più nella fossa, dalla quale alzatosi il coperchio se ne leva con molta diligenza tutta l'acqua rimasa con vasi ed in fine con spugne, poi se ne cava quel fango e molliccio (so B.M. *Reg.* 14 A. xiii.) che ha fatta l'acqua, il quale si mette a parte per la prima e più perfetta sorte di terra . . .'

<sup>5</sup> Crusius, Soranzo, Benetti, Pococke, Tozer.

As to the history of the Lemnian earth in the mediaeval period it has been generally assumed that the export was continuous: de Launay even goes so far as to say that the constant bickering for the possession of the island was due to the value of the earth as an article of commerce<sup>1</sup>; as a matter of fact the strategic value of the island is a quite sufficient explanation, and there is no evidence to show that the knowledge of the earth in mediaeval Europe was more than theoretical. This is borne out by Agricola's statement that it was known to few and sold dear in the Venice of his day (which, be it remarked, had had constant relations with Constantinople for several centuries) and by the ignorance of Thevet, who at the time of his voyage (1549) thought the earth came from Athos.<sup>2</sup> Its excessive rarity about this time is attested by the same author,<sup>3</sup> who says he sold four tablets of it in Malta for fifty-five ducats. The complete silence of the early *isolarii* including Buondelmonti's and of such authors as the local Critobulus of Imbros and the traveller Cyriac of Ancona is a valuable negative argument. The only shred of evidence for the appreciation of the earth before the Turkish period is Belon's remark (repeated after him by several others probably drawing on his account<sup>4</sup>) that the custom of digging the earth on one day only dated from the Venetians: the Venetians occupied the island 1464-1477; how, if they organised the digging, as is alleged, for commercial purposes, was the Lemnian earth almost unknown again fifty years later? It is besides probable that 'the time of the Venetians,' like the modern 'time of the Genoese' all over Turkey, was only a vague expression for remote date.

In reality the revival in popularity of the famous drug is most likely due to the appearance of the Spanish Jews in the Levant. It is well known that the Jews, expelled in 1492 from catholic Spain, flocked in the next fifty years to the dominions of the Sultan, where they found a religious toleration unknown in Europe. During the second half of the sixteenth century the expelled Jews held a recognised position at Constantinople in the diplomatic and still more in the medical world. Several of the sultans

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently suggested by the anecdote of the taking of Lemnos in 1657 quoted by Tozer from von Hammer.

<sup>2</sup> *Cosmog. du Levant* 52. But in his *Cosmog. Univ.* he represents himself as having visited the island.

<sup>3</sup> *Cosmog. Univ.* II.805.

<sup>4</sup> du Loir, Coronelli: Covel was told the same thing in 1677, only twenty years after another Venetian occupation.

about this date had Jewish physicians,<sup>1</sup> who were recommended not only by their scientific attainments, derived from Moorish Spain, but by their loyalty to their adopted sovereign. It is possible that one of these, knowing Galen from the Arabic translations, was instrumental in bringing the Lemnian earth to the notice of his imperial master. It is, on the other hand, by no means necessary to consider that the use of the earth was at any time extinct in Lemnos: we should probably conceive of it as a local remedy consecrated by religion in mediaeval as in ancient and in modern times till quite recent years.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately after the revival of the Lemnian earth, and for a century or more after, a number of earths found elsewhere in Europe, begin to compete with it. These were probably either actually similar in composition or credited with similar properties. The date of their discovery, when it can be ascertained, is subsequent to the rediscovery of the Lemnian earth and possibly dependent on it. They are known generically as 'sealed earths,' a local epithet being added, but most have no religious associations. The device of the seal is generally a coat of arms and the form of the tablet follows the Lemnian.

Of these the German and Austrian varieties are fully discussed in Zedler's *Universal Lexikon*, s.v. *Siegelerde*, and many varieties of seals are figured by Wurm<sup>3</sup> and Valentini.<sup>4</sup> Cups were made of the Bohemian<sup>5</sup> and Strigonian<sup>6</sup> earths, implying presumably their use as antidotes on the

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Selim I, Suleiman II, Selim II: the body-physicians of the last two were Andalusian Jews (M. A. Levy, *Don Joseph Nasi*, Breslau, 1859, p. 6). For the position of the Turkish Jews at this time in commerce and finance, see Belon (iii. 13), where also stress is laid on their proficiency in medicine and knowledge of ancient medical writers, derived from Spanish translations. They had already at this period a printing-press at Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> A parallel case of a medicinal earth which has never attracted the learned is to be found in the 'blewish kind of earth like fullers' earth,' seen by Covel (p. 247) at Marash near Adrianople, which was moistened by a miracle on the day of the Assumption and bathed in by Greeks, Turks, and Jews 'for all kinds of infirmities.' Covel thought it might be of value for cutaneous diseases but scouted the miracle. The British Consul at Adrianople (Major Rhys Samson, to whom I may here express my obligations) tells me this mud is still used for rheumatism and the same day observed. A service is naturally celebrated in the church of the Virgin but is now said to have no connection with the mud-bath. It will be remembered that the same is said by Albacatio of the service in Lemnos.

<sup>3</sup> *Museum Wormianum* (1722).

<sup>4</sup> *Museum Muscorum* (1704-16).

<sup>5</sup> Wurm, *loc. cit.* p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Strigonian earth (Strigonium = Gran in Hungary) was discovered as early as 1568 (Zedler), when Gran was Turkish. A specimen of this earth, the variety *de Monte Auto*, is preserved in the museum of the Pharmaceutical Society (cf. F. Imperato, *Ist. Nat.* (1599) vi. xxxviii).

Lemnian analogy: it is further significant that one variety, found near Breslau, was used like the Lemnian for plague in 1633.<sup>1</sup>

In France the earth of Blois seems to have been first exploited about the time of Belon's book. It is mentioned by Thevet<sup>2</sup> and Palerne.<sup>3</sup>

In Italy were exploited the earths called Sessana, Toccarese, Fiorentina<sup>4</sup> (stamped with the Medici arms), and Oreana.<sup>5</sup> The Toccarese variety was used as an antidote,<sup>6</sup> and as cups were made of terra Sinuessa the same may be inferred of it. A Calabrian earth is said by Pococke to have entirely superseded the Lemnian in European practice.<sup>7</sup>

Maltese earth (Pauladadum) is so interesting a parallel (or derivative, of the Lemnian as to deserve a longer notice. It was found in small quantities in the cave of S. Paul near Città Vecchia and appears not to have been in vogue before the Lemnian: our first notices of it are subsequent to the coming of the Knights, and the church on the spot was built only in 1606.<sup>8</sup> The earth was used for small-pox and fevers, and particularly for the bites of reptiles, this magical use being associated directly with the incident of S. Paul and the viper, after which all reptiles in Malta became harmless. Numerous varieties of seals are shewn in the plates of Wurm and Valentini, including (1) the bust of S. Paul holding staff and serpent (*rev.* a Maltese cross), (2) S. John (*rev.* arms of the Grand Master), (3) a hermit worshipping the cross (*rev.* a three-masted ship) and various saints. Images and vases were also made of the earth, the vases being thought, like the Lemnian, to crumble away when poison was poured into them.<sup>9</sup> We have thus an almost complete parallel for the Lemnian earth.<sup>10</sup>

Outside Europe the earth of Bethlehem seems worth mentioning in this connection. It is found in a cave still shewn as the refuge of the

<sup>1</sup> Zedler, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Cosmog. du Levant*: Munster (ed. Belleforest i. 313) says it was discovered *de nosre tems*.

<sup>3</sup> *Pègrinations*, 361. See also Zedler, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Valentini, *loc. cit.* in. Pl. I.

<sup>5</sup> Wurm, *loc. cit.* 7 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Imperato, *loc. cit.* (1599). vi. xxxv

<sup>7</sup> Wurm, *loc. cit.* 347.

<sup>8</sup> Brydone (1770).

<sup>9</sup> They were also used for fever, cf. Catayon's *Relations de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 1864, p. 129.

<sup>10</sup> For the Maltese earth see Thevet, *Cosmog. Univ.* i. 27; F. Imperato, *Ist. Nat.* (1599) 6 xxx.; Breithaupt, *Heldeninsel Malta*, (1632) 39; E. Francisci, *Iustgarten*, (1668) Pl. XLI.; John Ray, *Travels*, (1738) i. 262; Zedler, *loc. cit.*; Brydone (1770). Wurm (p. 347) figures a cup of it with legend DIVINO HOC PAVIL ANTIQVQ ALRA VENENA FAGABIS and reptiles moulded in relief.

Holy Family and a place where the Virgin nursed the infant Christ. The cave is known already to Mandeville (1361)<sup>1</sup>: a Russian pilgrim Grethenios (c. 1400)<sup>2</sup> says that pilgrims took a milky powder from the place 'for remedy and benediction' generally. Later it became specialised as a milk-charm, and was so used even by Mahometans.<sup>3</sup> The earth, which is chalky, white, and very friable, is now made up into tablets about an inch square, roughly stamped with the bust of the Virgin on one side and a monogram on the other (Fig. 3, *a*). A second sort, much harder and

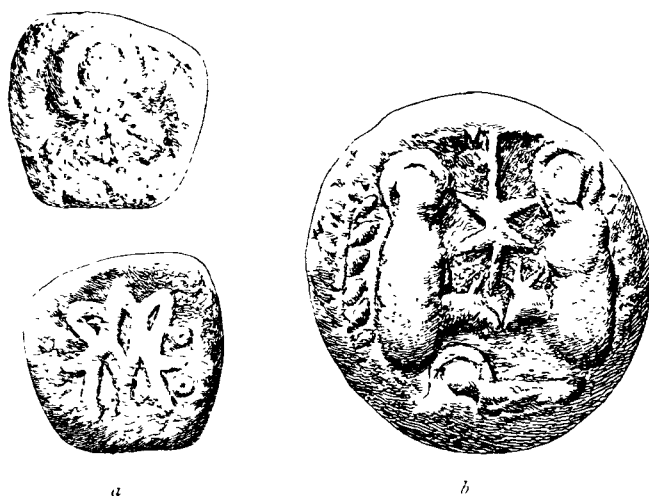


FIG. 3.—EARTHS OF BETHLEHEM.

more like clay, is sold outside the Sepulchre church: this is made up in round tablets with a very rough device (on one side only) shewing the Holy Family in the stable, the beasts being quaintly represented by projecting heads (Fig. 3 *b*). This seems to be an 'orthodox' variety.

The vogue of these rival earths naturally restricted the trade in the Lemnian. In the middle of the 18th century the traveller Pococke says it was no longer carried to Europe but used only in the Levant (and even here it was menaced by the export of the Maltese variety), while the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Bohn, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Khitrovo, *Voyages Russes*, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Thevet, *Cosmog. Lev.* pp. 37, 52; cf. also Feyerabend, *Reyssbuch*, 220, 274; Villamont, *Voyage*; Lithgow, *loc. cit.* 247, 425. A specimen is figured by Valentini. *loc. cit.* ii. Pl. I.



pharmacist Pomet<sup>1</sup> says that the number of seals then current was confusing, making him think 'that everyone makes 'em to his fancy'; he curiously dissociates the sealed earth from the Lemnian, which 'was said to be the same as the sealed earth but in its natural state without any impression upon it.'<sup>2</sup> Such a state of uncertainty among the profession could not fail to be fatal to what was essentially a faith-cure.

The West at length reached the stage of pure scepticism. Choiseul-Gouffier, Hunt, and Sibthorp no longer have any belief in the virtue of the Lemnian earth, and analysis has justified their conclusions at least so far as concerns modern samples.<sup>3</sup> This scepticism has with the spread of western influence reached Lemnos itself. Conze in the sixties was able still to purchase sealed tablets of the earth at an apothecary's, and in 1876 Pantelides writes of it as still in repute among the Turks of Constantinople. Tozer found the superstition expiring, the



FIG. 5.  
THE MODERN  
SEAL.

festival nearly abandoned, and the site in a fair way to be lost. I myself in 1909 could not obtain the earth in the capital of the island, and at the pottery below the site, bought only bowls of ill-levigated clay bearing the old inscription *tini-maktoum*<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 5). The monopoly of the pottery and seal, formerly hereditary in a Turkish family, has lost even this link with the past, and the once priceless antidotal bowls have come down to the very moderate figure of a half-penny each.



FIG. 4.  
'LEMNIAN EARTH' (?)  
OF THE XVII.-XVIII.  
CENTURY.

(From a specimen in the  
Pharmaceutical Society's  
Collection.)

F. W. HASLUCK.

<sup>1</sup> *Complete History of Drugs*, (1712) p. 415. A contemporary specimen of Lemnian earth (which can hardly be genuine) in the museum of the Pharmaceutical Society is figured above (Fig. 4 : this variety is mentioned by Zedler and figured by Wurm, p. 10).

<sup>2</sup> Probably the preparation made from the baobab tree and called *Terra Lemnia Sigillata*, *Encyc. Brit.* 3 ed. s.v. *Adansonia*.

<sup>3</sup> Daubeny, *On Volcanos*, p. 373, De Launay. Tozer doubts whether the original vein is not exhausted. On the chemical side of edible earths in general an article (inaccessible to me) has lately been published in *Schweiz. Wochenchr. f. Chymie*, 1909, 417-425.

<sup>4</sup> The seal itself is modern according to the tradition given by Tozer.

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<sup>1</sup> Authors who visited Lemnos are marked with a dagger (†). <sup>2</sup> *Rev. Or. Lat.* vii. (1909), 175 f.

## NORTH GREEK FESTIVALS AND THE WORSHIP OF DIONYSOS.

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DURING the course of travel and exploration that we have carried out during the last three years in Thessaly, and South Macedonia, Mr. M. S. Thompson and myself have discovered that in these regions a carnival play similar to that seen by Mr. Dawkins in Thrace<sup>1</sup> is still performed on certain occasions. It is surprising that these festivals have for so long escaped the notice of travellers, for the area in which they occur is a large one, and they were more extensively celebrated in days gone by. Mr. G. F. Abbott seems to be the only traveller<sup>2</sup> who has noticed them, and even he has misunderstood them. Perhaps the fact that the commonest festival occurs in the winter, when it is supposed to be impossible to travel in North Greece, has helped to keep it in obscurity.

Throughout Thessaly, with the exception of the Pelion district and southern Macedonia, the carnival play occurs on the eve and on the festival of the Epiphany (τὰ Φῶτα); also in some parts it occurs on the eve and the festival of St. Basil (Ἅγιος Βασίλειος), which falls on New Year's Day, and, according to some rather doubtful information given us, it even occurs sometimes on the days that elapse between St. Basil and Epiphany. We have not been able to find any certain traces of the carnival play south of Mount Othrys, and we are told that in Pindus and the Ágrapha<sup>3</sup> it does not occur, but we have not yet been able to visit this region. As we have actually seen the festival in the district of Halmyros in Phthiotis, and the bulk of our information is derived from Mr. Mpriákos, a native of Kokkotoí,

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 191, ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Macedonian Folklore*, pp. 80, 88.

<sup>3</sup> This district comprises part of Aperantia and Dolopia; cf. Leake, *Northern Greece*, iv. pp. 266 ff.

in Othrys, but resident in Halmyros, in the following account of the festivals the geographical order from south to north is observed as far as possible. In the Pelion district the carnival play takes place on the first of May, and we have seen this also.

#### I.—THE NEW YEAR AND EPIPHANY FESTIVAL.

*Halmyros District.* The performance at Kokkotoi, a small village in Othrys, four hours south of Halmyros, according to Mr. Mpriakos, who as a young man took part in it himself, was as follows. Towards sunset on the eve of Epiphany boys and youths of the village collected in bands (*μπουλούκια*) about twelve strong. Of a band of twelve, eight formed a chorus divided into two semichoruses, and the other four got themselves up to take the acting parts. The four parts were (1) the bride (*νύφη*), a boy dressed in a bride's costume, (2) the bridegroom (*γαμβρός*), wearing a fustanella and a red fez, carrying a rusty sword, and with bells slung about his waist and tied on his elbows, (3) the Arab (*Ἀράπης*), wearing a black mask of sheep or goat skin, a sheepskin cloak, and sometimes a tail as well, (4) the doctor (*γιατρός*), dressed in a black coat, a collar, and a black felt hat, to resemble a graduate of Athens University. Often the last two parts, since both characters were not wanted on the stage together, were doubled by the same actor. When ready the band goes about the village from house to house. The bridegroom hammers on the door of the courtyard with his sword till the householder opens it; but as a rule the door is left unfastened, and after knocking more loudly than necessary the band enters. They arrange themselves in a semicircle, with the four actors in the middle, and begin by singing the following song:—

Σήμερον τὰ Φῶτα καὶ ὁ φωτισμός,  
καὶ χαρὲς μεγάλες ἔς τὸν Κύριον μας,  
εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην τὸν ποταμὸν  
τὸν δοξολογοῦν καὶ τὸν προσκυνοῦν.<sup>1</sup>  
Καὶ εἶναι ἡ Παναγία ἡ Δέσποινα,  
καὶ εἰς τὰ θαυματουργά της τὰ δάκτυλα  
σπάργαντα βαστάζει καὶ υἱὸν κρατεῖ,

<sup>1</sup> This line is not the correct version, which Mr. Mpriakos had forgotten, but one supplied by himself to fill the gap.

καὶ τὸν Ἅγιον Ἰωάννην παρακαλεῖ.  
 Ἅγιε Ἰωάννη καὶ Πρόδρομε  
 δύνασαι βαπτίζειν θεὸν παιδί ;  
 Δύναμαι, καὶ θέλω, καὶ προσκυνῶ,  
 μὰ κοντοκαρτερῇ ὥς τὸ πρῶτό,  
 αὖριον θ' ἀνοίξουν οἱ οὐρανοί,  
 καὶ θὰ πέσῃ δρόσος δροσολογία,  
 καὶ θὰ καταρρίψῃ τὰ εἴδωλα.  
 καὶ θ' ἡγίασῃ βρύσεις καὶ τὰ νερά.'

'To-day' is Epiphany, and the Enlightenment, and great joys for Our Lord. At the river Jordan they praise Him, and they worship Him. And there is the Virgin Our Lady, and in her wonder-working hands she carries swaddling clothes, and holds a child, and she entreats Saint John, 'Saint John, Forerunner, canst thou baptize a divine child?' 'I can, and I will, and I worship, but let Him wait till the morn. To-morrow the heavens will open, and dews will fall, and He will cast down the idols, and will bless springs and waters.'

Then the two semichoruses sing personal songs addressed to the master of the house and his family and adapted to their ages and occupations. Each semichorus sings two lines alternately, and at the end of each couplet the Arab shouts, 'Ha, ha, ha !' and stamps on the ground. The following are specimens of these personal songs.<sup>2</sup>

'1. To a prominent man :—

Ἀφέντη μου, ἀφέντη μου, πέντε φορὲς ἀφέντη,  
 δὲ σ' ὄπρεπε, δὲ σ' ὄμνιασε μέσα εἰς τούτη τὴ χώρα.  
 μὲν' σ' ὄπρεπε, καὶ σ' ὄμνιασε εἰς τς πόλεις τὰ ῥαστῆρια,  
 νὰ κοσκινύῃς τὰ φλουριά, νὰ δερμονίσῃς τ' ἄσπρα,  
 καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ δερμονίσματα κέρνα τὰ παλλικύρια.  
 κέρνα τ' ἀφέντη μου, κέρνα τὰ τὰ λασποκοπημένα,  
 νὰ πᾶνε εἰς τὸ κρασοπωλεῖο νὰ εἰποῦν καλὸ γιὰ σένα,  
 νὰ ἀσπρίσῃς σὰν τὸν Ἑλυμπο, σὰν τὰ ἄσπρα περιστέρια.

'Master, master, five times master, this village does not befit you, does not suit you, only the factories in the cities befit you, and suit you, that you may riddle

<sup>1</sup> The translations appended to the songs are far from perfect ; they are merely intended to give the reader unacquainted with modern Greek an idea of their meaning.

<sup>2</sup> For similar songs, cf. Κοιδύλης, *Περὶ γλώσσης καὶ καταγωγῆς τῶν Θρακῶν*, Athens, 1905, pp. 12-15, from Thrace (Adrianople) ; Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σέλλογος, 1874 (ix.), pp. 336 ff. from Imbros ; Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-Songs*, pp. 89 ff. ; Passow, *Carmina Populi*, ccxciv. ccxvi.

gold, and sift small change. And treat the lads with the siftings, treat them master, treat them, they are stained with mud, that they may go to the wineshop, and wish you well, that you may grow white like Olympus, like the white pigeons.'

(2) To a youth recently engaged :—

Ἄκοὺς ψιλὲ μ', ἀκοὺς λιγνέ, ἀκοὺς καγγελοφρύδι ;  
ἀκοὺς τὶ παράγγειλε ἡ ἀγαπητικιά σου ;  
νὰ πᾶς νὰ πάρῃς τὸ φίλί, μὴ βρέξῃ, μὴ χιονίσῃ,  
μὴ καταβύσῃ ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ πάρῃ τὸ γεφύρι.

'Do you hear, my active, slender boy with the arched eyebrows, do you hear your loved one's bidding? Go, and take your kiss, lest it rain or snow, and the river come down, and carry away the bridge.'

(3) To a stranger<sup>1</sup> :—

Ξένε,  
Ξειτευμένε μου πολὺ, χαμένο μου γεράκι,  
ποιά ξενιθιά σε χαίρεται, καὶ ἐγὼ πίνω φαρμάκι ;  
ἔτσι λέει ἡ μάνα σου 'στὸ σπῆτι.

'Stranger, very welcome to me, my lost hawk, what strange land delights you, and I drink poison? That's what your mother is saying at home.'

(4) To a farmer :—

Ἀφέντη μου ὅταν κίνησες νὰ πᾶς νὰ πρωτουσπειρῃς,  
μηλιά ροιδιά τ' ἀλέτρι σου καὶ κυδωνιά ὁ ζυγὸς σου,  
καὶ αὐτὴ τῇ βούκειτρα ποὺ κρατεῖς τριανταφυλλιᾶς κλονιάρι,  
τὰ μαύρα βόδια 'στὸ ζυγόν, τὰ τρίγωνα 'στ' ἀλέτρι,  
καὶ τὰ μελισσοτρίγωνα μέσ' 'στὸ βαρὺ τ' ἀλώνι.  
νὰ κάμῃς τάλλες ἑκατο, λουτζέκια τρεῖς χιλιάδες,  
καὶ πάλιν ἴλιγα τᾶπαμεν. ὁ Θεὸς νὰ τ' αὐγατίσῃ.

'Master, when you start to begin to sow, may your plough be of apple-tree, or pomegranate, and your yoke of quince, and the ox-goad you carry, a rose branch, your black oxen in the yoke, the white oxen in the plough, and the brown oxen in the heavily loaded threshing floor, that you may reap a hundred tallies, and thirty-three thousand okes,<sup>2</sup> and again it's little that we have said, may God make them better.'

<sup>1</sup> This was sung to us at Platanos near Halmiros. Cf. Passow, *op. cit.* cccxxxv, cccxxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> One tally (Ν) equals five kilogrammes; one λουτζέκι equals eleven okes (one oke is 2½ lbs.).

(5) To a shepherd :—

Μέσα εἰς τούτες τὲς αὐλὰς τὲς μαρμαροστρωμέναις  
 νὰ δώνη χίλια πρόβατα, καὶ τρεῖς χιλιάδες γίδια.  
 καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ λιανοχάτσικα ποῦ μετρημοὺς δὲν ἔχουν,<sup>1</sup>  
 σὰν τὸ μερμίγγι τρέχουνι, σὰν τὸ μελίσσι βάζουνι.  
 καὶ ὁ πιστικὸς ποῦ τὰ φυλάει  
 στραβὰ φοράει τὴ σκούφια.

‘In these marble-paved courts may there be given a hundred sheep, and three thousand goats, and the countless active kids run like ants, and buzz like bees, and the trusty shepherd boy, who watches them, wears his cap askew.’

(6) To a girl :—

Κυρά μου τὴ θυγατέρα σου, κυρά μου τὴν ἀκριβή σου,  
 τὴν ἔλουσες, τὴν χτένι, ’στὸςες δάσκαλο τὴν στέλνεις,  
 καὶ ὁ δάσκαλος τὴν ἔδερνε μὲ μὲ χρυσὴ βιργούλα.<sup>1</sup>

‘Lady, your daughter, your dear one, you washed her, you combed her, you send her to the schoolmaster, and the schoolmaster beat her with a little golden rod.’

In the meantime the four actors, who do not sing, play their parts. The play is begun by the Arab, who approaches the bride and attempts some familiarity, such as stealing a kiss. This is naturally resented by the bridegroom, and a lively quarrel ensues, which ends in the Arab killing the bridegroom. The bride in despair flings herself on the body and gives way to violent weeping. Then, remembering the doctor, she hurries off and fetches him to cure her husband. The doctor assumes a professional air, feels the pulse, etc., of the bridegroom, thumps him, and thrusts some drug such as a piece of soap into his mouth, or indulges in other horseplay at his expense. This has a miraculous effect, the bridegroom comes to life again, jumps up, and dances with the other actors. The play usually ends with an obscene pantomime between the bride and bridegroom. When the song and play are over the band is treated by the householder with a gift either of money or of food and wine for them to make merry with on the

<sup>1</sup> When these songs are sung, in order to prolong the note with a kind of drone, an extra syllable with *v* is often inserted in the words, e.g. :—

Κυράναμ’ τὴ θύνηγατένερα σου, κυράναμ’ τὴν ἀκριβή σου,  
 τήνε νελουσένες, τὴν χτένεις, ’στὸ δάνασκαλο τὴν στέλνεις,  
 Καὶ ὁ δάνασκαλόνος τὴ νένεδερνε μὲ μίνα χρυσὴ βιργούλα.

morrow. But if there are any chickens about they do not hesitate to steal one. This licensed chicken stealing is also a feature of the Thracian carnival. If, however, the householder does not open the door to the band, they, besides stealing chickens, will do any other damage they can, such as ringing trees, cutting the stems of vines, or taking something as a forfeit for the miserly owner to ransom. In addition they sing songs of bad omen wishing him ill and not good for the year, such as the following :—

- (7)<sup>1</sup>      *Σένα σ' ἔπρεπ' ἀφέντη μου τροβάς καὶ δοκανίκι  
νὰ σε τραβοῦνι τὰ σκυλιὰ καὶ πέντε δέκα λύκοι,  
καὶ σε κυρά μ' ἡ ἔμορφιά γρήγορα νὰ σ' ἀφήσῃ,  
ὁ ἄνδρας σου νὰ σ' ἰδῇ νὰ μὴ σε γνωρίσῃ,  
τὴν κόρην σου τὴν ἔμορφη βάλ' τὴ 'στὸ ζιμβήλι  
καὶ κρέμασέ την ὑψηλὰ νὰ μὴ την φᾶνε ψύλλοι,  
ἀπὸ χρόνους σας πολλοὺς  
ἓνα τάσι ποντικούς,  
καὶ ἓνα κόσκινο βολβούς.<sup>2</sup>*

'You, master, should have a beggar's wallet and crutch, that the dogs may worry you, and five or ten wolves: and you, lady, may your beauty quickly leave you, that your husband may see you, and not recognise you. As for your beautiful daughter, put her in a basket, and hang her up high that the fleas may not eat her. For many years may you have only a bowlful of rats, and a sieveful of wild onions.'

- (8)<sup>3</sup>      *'Αφέντη μ' 'στὸ σπιτάκι σου γουμάτο καλλικούδια,  
τὰ μισὰ γεννοῦν, τὰ μισὰ κλωσσοῦν,  
τὰ μισὰ σ' βγάζουν τὰ μάτια.*

'Master, in your dirty little house, full of crows, half are laying eggs, half are hatching them, half are pecking out your eyes.'

The bands of boys collect again on the day of Epiphany itself after noon and demand contributions from those they have not visited the night before. Such was the festival in Thessaly before the annexation to Greece.

Since the days of Turkish rule the festival has lost much of its former glory; education, the desire to be European, and the police, who object to chicken stealing, have all combined to lessen its importance. But at Epiphany, 1910, during a visit to Halmyros and Plátanos, a village at the

<sup>1</sup> From Halmyros.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Passow, *op. cit.* p. 219, note

<sup>3</sup> From Koukouráda on the west side of Mavrovouni.



foot of Othrys about an hour south of Halmyros, we saw the festival as it is observed to-day. Nowadays, though the police at Halmyros forbid the regular performance, yet on Epiphany eve we saw several bands of boys five or six strong, with a bride and bridegroom in their midst. The bride wore a girl's hat and frock; the bridegroom wore a fustanella and a red fez, and carried a rusty sword with an onion hanging from the hilt, and had his face blackened. At Plátanos on Epiphany eve there were several similar bands of boys wandering about the village from house to house, but even



FIG. 1.—BAND OF MASQUERADERS AT PLÁTANOS.

here they were pursued by the police to stop chicken stealing, and to prevent their creating a disturbance with their songs. Consequently it was not until after midday on the day of Epiphany itself that the festival was really celebrated, and the village was filled with bands of boys and young men. They went through no performance, but they waylaid person after person in the streets, and sang songs to them while the bride flourished an orange, lemon, or apple in their faces, and the bridegroom seizing the victim by the sleeve threatened him with his sword till he paid. If the

victim was very obstinate, they would half strip his coat off his back as though to carry it away as a forfeit. From observing these bands we noticed that the characters are now reduced to two, the bride and her groom, now called both *γαμβρός* and *Ἀράπης*, so that it seems that the doctor has quite dropped out, and that the Arab and bridegroom have been combined into one person. The bride was as a rule dressed in a girl's best clothes, and carried in her hand an orange,<sup>1</sup> apple, or lemon (Figs. 2-5). Occasionally, if no further disguise was available, the boy was indicated as a bride by having a woman's kerchief tied round his head (Fig. 1). The bridegroom or Arab in two cases wore a mask of goat- or hare-skin (Figs. 2, 3), and one



FIG. 2.—BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM AT PLÁTANOS.

had a pair of goat's horns tied on to his hat (Fig. 2), which were the subject of jokes, especially when one of the spectators began to dance with his bride. As a rule too he was dressed in a fustanella with a red fez, had his face blackened, carried an old sword or bayonet, and sometimes a gun and cartridge belt as well (Figs. 4, 5). In every case he had bells on his elbows or round his waist, and occasionally some of the others carried bells as well (Fig. 1). Of the old custom we noticed the following survivals.

<sup>1</sup> In former days in this district when a father invited guests to his daughter's wedding, he sent round an apple or an orange to his friends as an invitation. The orange, lemon, or apple carried by the bride is probably a survival of this custom, and a sign that she is a bride.

(A) In one band at Plátanos there were three boys dressed up:<sup>1</sup> the bride, a small boy with a woman's kerchief round his head and with a lemon in his hand; the bridegroom, a bigger boy with a false moustache, a red fez, and a fustanella; the Arab, a youth with a blackened face, wearing a sheep-skin cloak, several bells, and a sword.

(B) On the appearance of one of the bands, one of the spectators took away the bride from the bridegroom, and treated her with great familiarity.



FIG. 3.—MASQUERADERS AT PLÁTANOS.

(C) We were told that at Vryñaina, a village in Othrys to the south of Plátanos, it is the custom for the spectators one after another, to take the bride from the bridegroom, who then knocks them down.

(D) At Halmyros, had the police allowed, a *μπουλούκι* would have been formed with one bride, two *Ἀραπάδες*, and a chorus of ten.

In consequence, though we did not see the festival as described by Mr. Mpriakos, from what we saw and from independent inquiries, we have little doubt that his account is substantially correct.

<sup>1</sup> We unfortunately saw this band only at night when it was impossible to photograph them.

*Pelion District.* According to Polites,<sup>1</sup> in addition to the Mayday Festival, the mummers also come out at Epiphany, when there are a doctor, his assistant (*γιατρούλι*), a Jew (*Ὀβριός*), and a Jewess (*Ὀβριά*). There appears too at night an Arab (*Ἀράπης*), who wearing an old cloak and carrying bells wanders about the village with a lantern. This is said to be



FIG. 4. —BRIDE AND BRIDEGROOM AT PLATANOS

done at Portariá, but when we inquired about it in the summer, we could get no confirmation of Polites' version. Perhaps the festival has died out.

*Ossa and Mavrovouni District.* According to our informants here, the festival is or was the same as that described above. At Keramídi<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Παραδόσεις* ii. p. 1273: he also mentions New Year masquerades in Crete and Achaia, but apparently there is no dramatic performance connected with them.

<sup>2</sup> A sheep-skin mask worn at Keramídi, which we procured there, has been given to the Cambridge Ethnological Museum.

Koukouráva there were four actors, bride, bridegroom, Arab, and a doctor. The Arab, who wears a mask of goat- or sheep-skin, or of pumpkin shell, and a beard of goat's hair, annoys the bride. The bridegroom actively objects, the Arab fires his pistol in the air, and the bridegroom falls as dead. Then the bride, after weeping over the body, fetches the doctor, who soon revives the bridegroom, and the play concludes with an indecent pantomime. At Agyiá a fifth character was occasionally introduced in the person of Satan, who appeared to carry off the bridegroom when he fell



FIG. 5.—BRIDES AND BRIDEGROOMS AT PLÁTANOS.

down dead. Then he and the bride fought for the body, till the doctor came to bring the bridegroom to life again.

*West Thessaly.* We have heard on personal inquiry that the same festival is celebrated at Epiphany in the Western Thessalian plain round Phanári and Sophádes. Polites<sup>1</sup> says that the play with the bride and bridegroom and Arab is performed at Phársala, at Epiphany, and at Karditsa at the New Year.

<sup>1</sup> Παραδόσεις, *loc. cit.*

*North Thessaly.* At Týrnavos the festival has recently been put down by the police on account of chicken stealing. In the neighbourhood of Elassóna it is said to flourish still, not only at Epiphany, but at the New Year as well.

*Macedonia and Thrace.* At Léchovo, near Kastoriá, it is celebrated from New Year's eve till Epiphany, and there are several actors, three or four bridegrooms, a doctor, a priest (παπᾶς), a bride, the Arab, and an old woman (Ἀράπισσα) who has a doll as a baby in her arms. Here, either the bridegroom or the Arab falls down dead, and is bewailed by the bride and old woman till the doctor is fetched to revive him. The festival is celebrated not only by Greeks, but by Bulgarian and Albanian Christians as well. Mr. Abbott records the same festival at Siátista<sup>1</sup> on New Year's eve, where the bells are called *μπιμπουσάρια* (μπιμπουσάρια). The bands of boys also call out as they knock on the house doors, 'Health and joy to you! May St. Basil bring you plenty of corn, plenty of barley, and plenty of little children,'<sup>2</sup> and refuse to desist till they have received a gift. He says that on the day of St. John the Baptist (January 7th) bands of men go about disguised in goat-skins and girt with bells to levy blackmail, and notes that they are called here at Siátista *μπαμπόγεροι* (μπαμπόγεροι).<sup>3</sup> Polites<sup>4</sup> notes traces of the same festival both at Epiphany and the New Year at Velventós (where the mummers are called Ἀράμπιδις<sup>5</sup>), at Kózane (where they are known as Ἐμπουσάριοι), and at Palaiogratsáni (where they are called Ρουκατζάρια). In Thrace he notes the festival at Lakovíkia near the mouth of the Strymon, where it occurs at Epiphany and the New Year. The mummers there are called *μπαμπόγεροι*. It is also celebrated, according to him, on January 8th amongst the inhabitants of Stenímachos, near Philippopolis, where there is a janissary (γενίταρος), an old man (στάρτσος), and a woman (καίνα). Further, the Greek-speaking refugees from Eastern Rumelia, who have settled at Volos in Thessaly, celebrate the festival at Epiphany.

<sup>1</sup> *Macedonian Folklore*, pp. 80, 88.

<sup>2</sup> Γειά, χαρά, καὶ ὁ Ἄϊ Βασίλης πολλὰ σιτάρια, πολλὰ κριθάρια, πολλὰ παιδούδια.

<sup>3</sup> At Krushevo the Vlach boys on New Year's day mask themselves, and run about ringing bells; they call themselves *Arăki* (sing. *Arăpă*); Cosmulei, *Datini*, *Credințe*, și *Superstiții Aromânești* (București, 1909), p. 38. Similar masquerades occur at the same time at Vlachoklisura, Neveska, and Hupista.

<sup>4</sup> *Παραδόσεις*, ii. pp. 1273 ff.

<sup>5</sup> A dialect form of Ἀράπηδες, Arabs.

II.—THE MAYDAY FESTIVAL ON PELION.<sup>1</sup>

We saw this festival on May 1st (O.S.) 1910, performed by a band (*μπουλούκι*) of young men from the villages of St. Laurence (*Ἅγιος Λαυρέντιος*), and Karampási on the lower slopes of Pelion a few hours south of Volos. We were told that the characters here are the janissary (*γενίτσαρος*), the bride (*νύφη*), the Arab or old man (*Ἀράπη* or *γέρος*), the old woman or Arab woman (*γραιά* or *Ἀράπισσα*), the doctor (*γιατρός*).



FIG. 6.—MAYMEN FROM PELION.

and his assistant (*γιατρούλι*), a chorus of *ζουμπέκιδες* (Turkish irregular troops), and a personification of May (*Μαιόπουλο*), which is represented by a boy dressed up in green leaves and flowers. The masqueraders are collectively known as 'Maymen' (*Μαίηδες*). The Maymen (Fig. 6) we saw had two brides and two janissaries, five *ζουμπέκιδες*, a doctor, an old woman, an old man, two men with a kind of flute, and another with a drum to provide music to sing and dance to. As seen in the photographs (Figs. 6, 8-10) the janissaries wore the usual fustanella costume, and their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Politis, *Παροδόσεις* ii. p. 1273

brides the usual dress of local ladies. The *ζουμπέκιδες* had blackened faces, bright-coloured scarves, breeches, and headgear to make them look like orientals. The doctor (Fig. 7) wore a black coat, a collar, and tie, a bowler hat, a cardboard mask, a walking stick, and a small pouch at his waist for his drugs. The old woman (Fig. 7) had a tattered and patched frock, a cardboard mask, carried a distaff with wool, and a basket in which to put contributions in kind such as fruit and cheese. The old man



FIG. 7.—THE DOCTOR, OLD WOMAN, AND OLD MAN.

(Fig. 7) wore a kind of turban, a black sheep-skin mask, a big knife, a sword, a cartridge pouch, and a suit of old clothes. The performance begins by the old man, who was variously described as the old woman's son or husband, paying marked attention to one of the brides. The bridegroom objects, they quarrel, and finally the bridegroom draws a pistol, and shoots the old man who falls down as dead. The old woman falls down by the body and laments him (Fig. 8), and then runs off to fetch the doctor.



who has kept out of sight up to now. The doctor, as befits one who wears a black coat and a collar, refuses to come without a horse. There is no horse available, so the old woman has to bring him on her back (Fig. 9). Arrived at the body the doctor demands a chair, there is none, so the old woman squats on the ground, and the doctor sits on her shoulders, and begins his examination, feeling the pulse, etc. He then after poking the old man in different parts of the body gives him a drug



FIG. 8.—THE DEATH OF THE OLD MAN.

(Fig. 10)—in the case we saw, a piece of soap—which immediately brings him to life again. This was the play as we saw it. To our great regret no *Μαιόπουλο* appeared, and we could learn nothing about the part he plays in the drama. During the performance songs are sung, such as the following<sup>1</sup>:—

*Μαί μου, Μαίε δροσερέ καὶ Ἀπρίλη λουλουδάτε,  
Μαίης μὲ τὰ τριαντάφυλλα, καὶ Ἀπρίλης μὲ τὰ λουλούδια.  
"Ὅλον τὸν κόσμον γέμισαν τ' ἄνθη καὶ τὰ λουλούδια.*

<sup>1</sup> This and other information I owe to the kindness of Παπᾶς Παῦλος Οἰκονόμου of St. Laurence.

Φραγκίτσα 'δῶ, Φραγκίτσα 'κεῖ, Φραγκίτσα πάγει 'στὴ βρύσι.  
 Γιανίτσαρος τὴν σταύρωσεν μὲ τ' ἄσπρο τὸ σαρίκι.  
 Παίζοντας, χορατεύοντας ἀπεκοιμήθη ἀφέντης.  
 Πῶς νὰ τοῦ 'πῶ νὰ σηκωθῇ, πῶς νὰ τοῦ 'πῶ νὰ κάτση ;  
 νὰ τὸν εἰπῶ λιγνὸ βεργί, καὶ τὸ βεργί λιγáει.  
 νὰ τὸν εἰπῶ ὑγιόκλιμα, τὸ κλίμα ἔχει κόμπο.  
 νὰ τὸν εἰπῶ τριαντάφυλλο, ἀπὸ τὸ ἀγκάθι βγαίνει.  
 φέρτε νταούλια νὰ βροντοῦν, ζουρνέδες γιὰ νὰ παίζουν·  
 μπελκὶ 'ξυπνῆς Ἀφέντη μας καὶ λύσης τὸ μανδήλι,  
 λύσε τ', ἀφέντη μ', λύσε τ', τὸ χρυσομάνδηλό σου !  
 καὶ ἂν ἔχεις γρόσια, δός μάς τα, φλοριά μή τα λυπάσαι !  
 καὶ ἂν τα λυπάσαι τὰ φλοριά, δός μας δεκαπεντάρια,  
 νὰ ζήσης χρόνους ἑκατο, νὰ 'σπρίσης, νὰ γεράσης,  
 νὰ ἀσπρίσης σὰν τὸν Ὀλυμπο, σὰν τ' ἄσπρο περιστέρι  
 καὶ τοῦ χρόνου.



FIG. 9 —BRINGING THE DOCTOR

'May, dewy May, and flowery April, May with the roses, and April with the flowers, the blossoms and the flowers have filled the whole world. Phrangitsa here, Phrangitsa there, Phrangitsa goes to the spring. The janissary with his white turban has met her. Playing, dancing, the master has awakened. What shall I call him that he rise, what shall I call him that he sit down? If I call him slender bough, the bough bends: if I call him goat-wort, the creeper has knots: if I call him rose, it comes forth from the thorn. Bring drums to thunder, pipes to play, perhaps you will wake master, and open your handkerchief, open it, master, open it, open your golden handkerchief, and if you have piastres, give us them: the golden florins, do not grudge them, and if you grudge the florins, give us small change, that you may live a hundred years, may grow old and white, white like Olympus, like the white pigeon. And next year too.'



FIG. 10.—THE DOCTOR EXAMINING THE BODY.

In Volos the same day we saw bands of young men from the villages of Portariá, Makrynítsa, and Áno Vólos. These seemed to consist principally of *ζουμπέκιδες*, and had as a rule only one bride and bridegroom and no doctor, old man, or old woman; but in one case with the *ζουμπέκιδες*, and led about by them, was a man dressed in a bear's skin and acting as a bear. Apparently the nearness of these villages to Volos

has caused the festival to become more and more a mere masquerade. At Kíssos and Mouresi, and on the east side of Pelion, according to information given us by natives of these villages, the performance is for all purposes the same as that which we saw near St. Laurence.

### III.—A SPRING FESTIVAL IN EPIRUS.

In connection with these other festivals we must consider one that Mr. Sarros<sup>1</sup> has recorded as taking place in spring in the Zagóri district of Epirus.<sup>2</sup> In the spring when the girls are watching lambs and kids in the woods and meadows, they amuse themselves by playing Zapheire (*παίζουν τὸ Ζαφείρη*). A girl, chosen by lot, lies down face upwards as though dead. Sometimes a small boy, if he is allowed, for it is considered a bad omen to imitate a corpse, is found to take the part of his own free will. Then the other girls cover the body with leaves and flowers, and sit round lamenting, and wake the body singing the following dirge :—

*Ζαφείρη μ' κοντοστρόγγυλε καὶ κοντοσιουσιμάνη,  
ἄφκες τὰ σπίτια χάρβαλα, τοὺς φούρνους γκρημισμένους,  
ἄφκες καὶ τήγ κουρεμαδιὰ μὲ τήγ κοιλιὰ 'στὸ στόμα.  
Ζαφείρη γίνκε ὁ θερισμός, καὶ ποιὸς γιὰ νὰ θερίσῃ ;  
νέσκουρίασαν οἱ κλειδωνιές, χορτάριασαν οἱ πόρτες,  
σκούζουν τ' ἄχούρια γι' ἄλογα, νοντάδες γι' ἀφεντάδες,  
κί' ὁ κρουσταλλένιος ὁ νοντὰς γι' ἀφεντικὲς κουβέιτες,  
σκούζουν καὶ τὰ λαγωνικὰ γιὰ ὁμορφα κυνήγια.  
Γιὰ σιούκ' μωρὲ Ζαφείρη μου !*

'Zapheire, short and round, Zapheire, short and fat, you have left the houses fallen down, the ovens in ruins, and the ? with its stomach in its mouth. Zapheire, the harvest is here, and who is there to reap? The locks are rusted, the doors are grass-grown, the stables are calling for horses, the rooms for masters, and the crystal room for its masters' talk, and the greyhounds are whining for pleasant sport. 'Come, rise, my Zapheire''

He also records another dirge that they used to sing in former times. As soon as Zapheire hears the order to arise she jumps up. and shouts of joy take the place of the dirge, and the others run away chased by Zapheire. Whoever is first caught by Zapheire has in her turn to take the

<sup>1</sup> *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 1900 (Vol. V), pp. 347 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of this district are said to be mainly Hellenized Vlachs, Weigand, *Die Arumunen*, i. p. 146; cf. Leake, *Northern Greece*, iv. p. 167.

part. Often instead of a boy or girl taking the part they make a dummy with four leaves of hellebore arranged in the form of a cross, and pegged to the ground with thorns, and sometimes too they lay a doll on the ground as Zaphere and cover it with leaves and flowers. In the same district at all times of the year, when men, especially young men, are holding a symposium, one of their number will fall down as though dead. Then two of his companions pretending to be his mother and sister cover his head with a kerchief, cast leaves and flowers on him, and sing a dirge for him with much lamentation while the others stand round silent. This lasts for some time, and then suddenly all the musicians play loudly and joyfully at the same time, and the pretended dead man jumps up, and all dance together.

#### IV.—THE FESTIVAL BEFORE LENT.

Mr. Dawkins has fully described this festival as performed at Skyros in the Northern Sporades,<sup>1</sup> in Thrace at Viza and Kostí,<sup>2</sup> so that it is unnecessary to go into the details here. We may, however, note that Mr. Abbott<sup>3</sup> records masquerades at Salonika and Sochó in Macedonia, which may well be a survival of the festival play. Mr. Hasluck tells me that Major Samson, British Consul at Adrianople, writes to him as follows: 'Traces of this dance (he is referring to the festival at Viza) still exist in this town in the shape of the man with the skin mask, the woman and the doll. This party goes from café to café on Cheese Monday.' Probably the Lenten festival still occurs in many other places.

#### V.—THE FESTIVAL AS A WHOLE.

It seems clear on comparing the accounts of the different festivals that though they are celebrated over a wide area, and at different seasons of the year, the same idea is present in all. In every instance there is a death and resurrection. In nearly all cases one of the two principal characters is disguised in skins, or at least a skin mask. In the songs sung at Epiphany in Thessaly, and those sung on Mayday there are several

<sup>1</sup> *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 72 ff. It has recently been described by Παπαγεωργίου, in *Λαογραφία*, Vol. II. pp. 35 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S.* 1906, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Macedonian Folklore*, pp. 30, 31.

common elements. Also the mere fact that licensed chicken stealing is a feature of the festival in Thrace and Thessaly seems to point to a similar tradition. Is it then possible out of the different versions to reconstruct the main plot of the drama? As regards the Pelion Mayday festival we notice one main point in which it disagrees with the representations elsewhere, that it is not the bridegroom, but the old man who is killed. This is also partly true of the Epiphany festival in Thessaly and Macedonia, where, though the main tradition is that the bridegroom is killed, yet there seems to be some doubt on the point, and on several occasions we were told that the bridegroom killed the Arab. The old man or Arab is in all probability the representative of Dionysos, of whose worship, as shown by Mr. Dawkins<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Lawson,<sup>2</sup> these festivals are to be regarded as a survival. In Thrace at Viza it is true that the old man and the bridegroom are identical. Thus are we to assume that in Thessaly the bridegroom and the Arab are two aspects of the same character, represented by two different persons? As Mr. Dawkins remarks<sup>3</sup> the part of the slayer has been given to a duplicate of the victim. Acting on this hypothesis we may imagine the full original of the drama to have been somewhat as follows. The old woman first appears nursing her baby in her arms (Viza and Léchovo), and this child is, in some way or other, peculiar (Viza). He grows up quickly and demands a bride (Viza, and on Pelion the old man is sometimes called the old woman's son). A bride is found for him, and the wedding is celebrated (at Lechovo a priest is one of the characters), but during the wedding festivities he quarrels with one of his companions who attempts to molest the bride, and is killed. He is then lamented by his bride, and miraculously restored to life. The interrupted festivities are resumed, and the marriage is consummated. It is worth noting for those who seek for the origins of Greek tragedy that this simple drama recounting, like an ancient trilogy, the life history of its hero ends with a satyric display that could be paralleled by the satyric drama that followed a trilogy. Also, in view of the survivals of Dionysos worship seen in these festivals, it should be noted that they seem to occur only in North Greece (Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace), which was, after all, the reputed home of Dionysos worship.

Finally there is yet another aspect of the festival that we may

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S. loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Greek Folklore*, pp. 228 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S. loc. cit.* p. 204.

consider for a moment. The object of all these and similar observances, as has been shown by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*, is to promote the revival of vegetation in the spring, and to bring an abundant harvest. The celebration of the festival on Mayday on Pelion is enough to show its connection with the revival of nature in the spring, as typified by the death and resurrection of the old man. The prayers uttered at Viza,<sup>1</sup> and at Siátista,<sup>2</sup> are evidence for its relation to the harvest. But also in the songs sung at Plátanos at Epiphany there is a suggestion that the festival is being celebrated to bring rain in due season, which would of course benefit the harvest. This idea is much stronger in an Epiphany song from Imbros<sup>3</sup>:—

Ἦλθανε τὰ Φῶτα κ' οἱ φωτισμοί,  
 κ' ἡ χαρὰς μεγάλαις τ' Ἀυφέντη μας.  
 κάτω 'ς τὸν Ὀρδάνη τὸν ποταμὸν  
 κάτταν ἡ Κυρά μας ἡ Παναγιά.  
 ἔπαιρνε νεράκι κ' ἐνέβουνται,  
 καὶ χρυσῶ μανδήλι' σφοργίζονταν.  
 μὲ τὰ Εὐαγγέλια 'ς τὴν ἀγκαλιά,  
 καὶ τὰ θυμιατούρια 'ς τὰ δάκτυλα,  
 καὶ τὸν Ἅγιο Γεώργιον παρακαλεῖ  
 "Ἅγιο Γεώργιε Ἀυφέντη, καὶ Πρόδρομε,  
 δύνασαι καὶ σώνεις καὶ προδρομαῖς,  
 διὰ τὰ βαπτίσης τὸν Νιὸ Χριστό ;'  
 'Γιὰ κοντοκαρτέρει ὡς τὸ πουργό ;  
 γιὰ ν' ἀναίβω 'πάνω 'ς τὸν οὐρανό,  
 γιὰ τὰ ῥήξω δρόσο κάτω 'ς τὴν γῆν,  
 τὰ δροσθῇ Ἀυφέντης μὲ τὴν Κυρά,  
 τὰ δροσθοῦν ἡ μάναις μὲ τὰ παιδιά,  
 τὰ δροσθοῦν οἱ κάμποι μὲ τὰ δένδρά,  
 τὰ δροσθοῦν ἡ βρύσεις μὲ τὰ νέρα,  
 τὰ καταπραύνουν τὰ ζούζουλα,  
 καὶ τὰ καταπέσουν τὰ Γεῖδωλα.'

'Epiphany has come, and the Enlightenment, and great joys for Our Lord. Down by the river Jordan was sitting Our Lady, the Virgin, she took water and washed, and wiped herself with a golden towel, with the gospels in her arms, and

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S. loc. cit.* p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 243; Abbott, *op. cit.* p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος, 1875 (Vol. IX), p. 341; cf. the similar song from Aenos, *ibid.* p. 339, and the song from the Olympus district quoted by Hamilton, *Greek Saints and their Festivals*, p. 127.

the censers in her hands, and she entreats Saint John, 'Saint John, Master and Forerunner, hast thou power, and canst thou, and dost thou go before to baptize the infant Christ?' 'Canst thou wait till the morn that I may ascend to heaven, to send down dew on the earth, that the master with his lady may be bedewed, that the mothers with their children may be bedewed, that the plains with the trees may be bedewed, that the springs with the waters may be bedewed, that the cattle may be tame, and that the idols may fall down.'

In this song the idea that St. John the Baptist can bring rain, and that therefore due observance of his festival is likely to produce rain, seems to be very strong. Further, it is not to be forgotten that in the service of the Orthodox Church at Epiphany, occurs the well-known ceremony of dipping or throwing the cross into water in the ceremony of blessing the waters.<sup>1</sup> Thus we may perhaps assume that one of the thoughts underlying the performance of the festival at Epiphany is the desire to secure a good rain-fall, for on that would depend the harvest to a great extent. Another instance of a rain-charm in connection with this festival is to be seen in the Lenten carnival at Kosti in Thrace, where the man dressed in skins is thrown into the river at the end of the performance.<sup>2</sup>

Thus we may conclude that the festival is a spring festival to celebrate and promote the return of vegetation, to bring rain, and to give a good harvest. This is beyond dispute, but it is impossible to say how far it is a survival of Dionysiac worship, though its restriction to the North Greek area seems to favour this idea, as well as the drama with the death and resurrection of its hero. It may be merely another instance of what is practically a world-wide custom. Further, it is very hard to decide whether it is right to see in such dramas as these the origins of Greek tragedy, although an anthropological origin for it is now generally sought.<sup>3</sup> Thus in dealing with this festival it has seemed best to record the facts as fully as possible and to leave others to draw what conclusions they please. In any case the Epiphany and New Year festivals in Thessaly and Macedonia still need investigation, and this should be done soon, before education and Europeanisation have entirely obliterated them.

A. J. B. WACE.

<sup>1</sup> Lawson, *op. cit.* p. 197; Hamilton, *op. cit.* pp. 112 ff; Dawkins, *Folklore*, xv. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *J.H.S. Lx. cit.* p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> See Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*.



## AN ADDITION TO THE SENMUT-FRESCO.

(FRONTISPIECE AND PLATE XIV.)

ON looking lately through a volume (AD. MSS. 29,822) of the manuscript collections bequeathed by the late Mr. Robert Hay to the British Museum, I came across a partly coloured drawing (f. 33) by him, of the well-known wall-painting of Keftian (Minoan Cretan) ambassadors in the tomb of Senmut at Egyptian Thebes. A direct photograph (by Mr. E. R. Ayrton) of this painting was published by me in the *Annual* for 1903-4 (x. p. 154) and a year later, Dr. W. M. Müller gave us a fine photograph and also a hand-drawn reproduction of it in colour in the first volume of his *Egyptological Researches*, published by the Carnegie Institute (1906), Plates 5, 6, and 7. These were the first published illustrations of the whole painting as it is now. My sketches of the Minoan vases which are represented in it, in the *Annual* for 1901-2 (viii. pp. 172, 173), were made not long after its re-discovery by Messrs Newberry and Steindorff, and were the first notes of it published since its re-discovery. The tomb had been re-buried and lost sight of for many years since the large coloured drawings by Prisse d'Avennes of these vases<sup>1</sup> had appeared in 1878. The drawing by Hay, of which a photograph is here given, is in pencil, with the most important coloured parts of the original reproduced in water colour (Plate XIV.). It was probably made about the year 1837. Then, as we see, considerably more of the picture existed than exists now. Parts of three more figures are shewn on the left, the first holding a large-footed bowl, the second an ewer, the third a great sword which he carries over his shoulder.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire de l'Art égyptienne : Vases des Tributaires de Kafa*, ii. Pl. 7. No. 2. etc.

<sup>2</sup> A small fragment of the ewer and sword remain, and are shewn in Müller's Plate 6, but their correct relation to the rest of the picture has naturally not been recognized, and they are tilted over too much to the left. Hay's drawing shews how they should be placed.

The right hand upper corner of the rim of the bowl is still visible *B.S.A.* viii. Fig. 6, p. 172), with its spiral or *kymation* decoration. The vessel is apparently of silver with a golden lip and rim. Rows of bosses or small rosettes are shewn above the swell of the lower part of the vase and on the lip. The ewer is of graceful form with a fluted lower portion of bronze or copper, and an upper portion, lip, and handle of silver. The collar (in this case double) on the neck is characteristically Minoan, and we have seen it on the silver and gold ewer in the portion of the painting already known. This, as has been pointed out, is almost doubled by an actual ewer found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos in 1903 (*B.S.A.* ix. Fig. 76a, p. 122) and the new picture shews us a vessel of the same style. The handle seems (so far as can be detected from Hay's sketch of the Egyptian painter's impression) to be decorated in much the same fashion as the handle of the bronze bason illustrated by Evans in *B.S.A.* ix. Fig. 78 (p. 125). Along the top of the fluting on the side is a row of copper nails, fastening the silver upper part to the copper lower part of the vase (*cf.* *B.S.A.* ix. Fig. 76a). The base of this vase has no distinct foot, but it may be noticed that this drawing shews us that the other ewer (that of gold and silver) had, as was anticipated in *B.S.A.* x, exactly the same plain foot as the Knossian ewer with which Evans compared it. The picture of that vase was complete when Hay drew it. That of the copper jug, held at arm's length by the last Keftian (on the right), was in the same condition then as now.

We have no idea whether the bowl with the foot was really as large as it appears in the picture. Probably it was not, since the two cups or 'Vaphio' shape are obviously enormously exaggerated in size, as the representation of their handles shews. It is very unlikely that the Cretans made gigantic copies of small cups to send to Egypt. Possibly the Egyptian painter made his picture from drawings of the Kefti-cups without any note of their size, and combined them effectively enough, but impossibly, with his men in the most impressively gigantic way he could. But the bowl may have been big or small. In shape it resembles a common type of Egyptian alabaster vase of this same period (XVIIIth Dynasty), which is found in Minoan tombs in Crete.<sup>1</sup> The purely Egyptian descent of this type of vase is, however, by no means certain, and it may equally well be derived from a Syrian or Cretan metal original. And its shape

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*, Fig. 125, S8.

certainly seems to be that of a metal rather than of a stone vase. This Keftian bowl may then be rather an original of the Egyptian type than an imitation of it.

The sword is more likely to be represented in its proper size. The big broad swords of the Northerners struck the attention of the Egyptians, and they represented them carefully, as we see from their pictures of the Shardana mercenaries.<sup>1</sup> These Shardana, however, are two hundred years later in date than the Keftian of this fresco, and the occurrence of the big Shardana sword among the Keftiu is rather unexpected. The swords of the Shardana were certainly hewing swords, and this broad Kefti blade seems certainly to be intended rather for hewing than for thrusting. But most of the long swords of the Kefti period from the shaft-graves at Mycenae<sup>2</sup> and all of those from Zafer Papoura in Crete<sup>3</sup> were intended only for thrusting, not for hewing. The Minoans seem to have relied upon the point, and did not use the cut.<sup>4</sup> Usually their blades were too light and too narrow in proportion to their length to be of much use when swung. This great sword seems then so out of place in this representation of Minoans that I think we must take it to be also an exaggeration. It was really a short broad-bladed sword or rather dagger, of a well-known Mycenaean type (like those on which are inlaid the famous scenes of lion-hunting, *etc.*),<sup>5</sup> and is exaggerated in the same way as the 'Vaphio' cups on the shoulders of the men behind. Either this, or the Egyptian painter has exaggerated its breadth, which is improbable.

Its hilt is interesting in that it appears (though from Hay's summary sketch one ought not perhaps to draw too definite a conclusion) to be of a very simple type, not unlike those which must have been used for the early daggers of developed type from Cyprus.<sup>6</sup> One sword from Mycenae must have had a similar (but not identical) style of hilt.<sup>7</sup>

I have already commented on the dress of these Keftians in my former publication of the painting in the *Annual*. The new fragment tells us nothing more.

<sup>1</sup> See Breasted, *Hist. Eg.* Fig. 163; Muller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 374.

<sup>2</sup> Schuchhardt, *Schliemann*, Figs. 268, 269. There is one exception, but its blade is not so broad as the Shardana swords or this Keftian weapon.

<sup>3</sup> Evans, *Prehistoric Tombs*, Fig. 109.

<sup>4</sup> As we see on the well-known gold ring-intaglio, Schuchhardt, Fig. 221.

<sup>5</sup> Schuchhardt, Fig. 227.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Naue, *Vorhistorische Schwerter*, I. 4. (Hagia Paraskevè), 5 (Psemmatisménò), II, 5 (Psemmatisménò).

<sup>7</sup> Naue, *ib.* III. 4.

With very great courtesy, Mr. Robert Mond has placed at the disposal of the Committee of the School a Lumière colour-photograph which he has taken of the fresco. This, reproduced by the three-colour process, forms the frontispiece to the present volume of the *Annual*. It gives the most accurate reproduction of the painting, as it now is, in its original colours, that is possible. The cost of the reproduction has been borne by Mr. Mond, to whom I wish to express my great thanks.

H. R. HALL.

## SOME DORIAN DESCENDANTS?

(PLATES XV, XVI.)

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THE temptation to probe the origins of a people who brought war and destruction with them, but whose absorption was followed by the great renaissance of Greece is infectious. Philologists have not regarded the warning of Beloch<sup>1</sup> who twenty years ago wrote 'Gewiss werden Wanderungen auf der griechischen Halbinsel in vorhistorischer Zeit stattgefunden haben; aber wir wissen darüber nichts, absolut gar nichts, und wer es anders sagt, der täuscht sich selbst und sein Publikum' and now the anthropologist is emboldened to try. Much water has flowed under the bridge since 1890, and I make the plunge. I take leave to change the question from the usual formula, 'Who were the Dorians?' to 'Who are the Dorians?' The attempt is made from the point of view of physical anthropology, in the hope that it may prove a contribution; for the aid of archaeology and philology is obviously needed in the solution of such an involved question.

Starting out in quest of the Dorians of to-day, it may be thought that the student would naturally bend his steps towards Sparta, Argolis, and Corinth; and for contrast to Arcadia and Attica. At the outset I must admit that I have gathered but few anthropometric records from these districts. Professor Clons Stephanos of Athens has a large and sufficient collection, I understand, but he has not felt free to publish them yet. My work on this problem has come as a by-product of research in Crete, and time and opportunity for further expeditions have been wanting; nevertheless it may be that the areas I have measured—Tsakonia (Peloponnesos), and Sphakia (Crete)—are of more value than the more obvious ones which have been overrun by Slavs and Franks and Turks.

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, Julius, "Die Dorische Wanderung," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, xlv, p. 598.

My figures reveal the fact that the Albanians, Tsakonians, and Sphakiots, all having some claims, if diverse, to Dorian ancestry, show a striking similarity in actual head-form, sagittal curve,<sup>1</sup> in cephalic index and stature and other physical measurements, and an equally striking contrast, particularly in head-form, to their neighbours.

Before setting forth these anthropometric analogies it will be well to review the claims to which reference has been made.

The original home of the Dorians before they appeared in Thessaly and Doris is by many thought to have been Illyria. The Illyric type *par excellence* to-day is the Albanian, and perhaps we should limit the word Albanian in this connexion to the Ghegs, the inhabitants of the Upper or High Albania who speak the Gheg dialect, excluding the Tosks of the south and the coastal peoples. According to Appolonios and other early writers, the name Illyrici comes from Illinici, Hyllini or Hylleni, Hylleis, finally Hyllos, who was the son of Herakles and Melita and was born in this country. The ancients thus associated Hellenic origins with Illyria. That the Albanians of Upper Albania have been in their present habitat since before the memory of man, and have successfully resisted all attempts of the historian to bring them from elsewhere, is acknowledged by most writers on Albania. As George Finlay writes 'Some suppose them to have occupied the regions they now inhabit before the days of Homer, and that they are the lineal descendants of the race to which the ancient Epirots and Macedonians belonged as cognate tribes.'<sup>2</sup> The introduction to M. H. Hyacinthe Hecquard's *Haute Albanie* says: 'Si les Albanais étaient arrivés en Europe à une époque récente, on connaîtrait leurs migrations ; mais l'histoire ne nous en apprend rien. On doit naturellement en conclure qu'ils étaient en Albanie depuis les époques les plus reculées.' M. Ed. Pittard adds 'Certains auteurs (de Hahn, Lejean) admettent que les Albanais sont les descendants des anciens Illyriens.'<sup>3</sup> The latest writer on High Albania, Miss M. E. Durham, who has had unusual success in penetrating into hitherto almost inaccessible parts, says of the language 'In the fat plain lands of the peninsula the Romans left Latin dialects. In the mountains it would seem the natives retained their speech throughout . . . In Albania it never died out but survives to-day as modern

<sup>1</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> Finlay, G., *A History of Greece*, vi. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Pittard, E., "Contribution à l'étude anthropologique des Albanais," *Revue de l'école d'Anth* 1902. pp. 240-6.

Albanian.'<sup>1</sup> Leake wrote . . . 'A country such as Albania furnishes little temptation to the settlement of foreigners, and is more likely to send forth from its barren mountains the surplus of its population to find a maintenance, which its own resources cannot afford.'<sup>2</sup> We know that this happened in the fourteenth century A.D. and suggest that it did so in the fourteenth century B.C.

To sum up, the Albanians, who, as the ancient Illyrians, once occupied a larger area than to-day, attacked and overlorded from time to time by Roman, Serb, and Turk, withdrew temporarily into the mountain fastnesses of High or Upper Albania, and there maintained their language, blood feuds, and ancient traditions in this the least known and least disturbed region of Europe. The withdrawals from the areas known now as Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro were followed in each case by a resurgence into those parts, but it is to the land of the Ghegs and their mountain homes in Upper Albania that we look for the less mixed Albanian who shall represent to us the ancient Illyrians and the Dorians whom we seek.

The claim of the Tsakonians, dwellers on the eastern slope of Mount Parnon, to Dorian ancestry is founded not merely on their location in Greater Laconia but on their Dorian dialect. That speech is by no means always a criterion of race, is one of the first lessons in anthropology, and examples of this are at our very door, e.g. the Cornish have almost within memory exchanged a Celtic for a Teutonic tongue and the Normans a Teutonic for an Italic. But a change is not necessary, nor is it the law; and if geographical features have conspired to isolate, then the preservation of the ancient tongue is not only possible but probable, as, for example in the case of the Basques. Tsakonia is indeed secluded. Even the chief town, and so-called port of Leonidi, which has grown to its present size since the Turks in 1821 drove the Prastiotis down from the interior, is hidden away from sight in a deep and narrow valley two-and-a-half miles from the sea. The inhabitants told me that the quickest way to reach Sparta was to take ship northward to Nauplia, continuing by rail to Argos, and then south to Tripolitza, and thence by diligence twenty-five miles, so difficult was the alternative and obvious route due west. They were equally isolated in the mediaeval period, for 'the *Chronicle of the Conquest of the Morea* by the Franks, which appears to have been written towards the latter part

<sup>1</sup> Durham, Miss M. E., *High Albania*, pp. 3, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Leake, *Researches in Greece*, p. 253.

of the fourteenth century, repeatedly mentions Tsakonia and its inhabitants as distinct from the rest of the Peloponnesus.<sup>1</sup>

But granted that the Tsakonians shut in among their mountains have been able to fend off the invading Slav and Albanian and preserve a comparative purity of race—and the story is not unlike that of the Albanians at home, for as Albania once stretched northward, but the true Albanian is now found confined to High Albania, so Tsakonia once extended southward, and the true Tsakonians were crowded back into their present limited area—what evidence is there of connexion between their dialect and the Doric?

At the moment we are concerned to present a *prima facie* case for making an anthropometric comparison between the Tsakonians, the Albanians, and the Sphakiots. Since Thiersch wrote his *Ueber die Sprache der Zakonen*, it has generally been accepted that the Tsakonian dialect is Doric and that it is unintelligible to the Roman-speaking Greek. Finlay wrote 'While the rest of the modern Greeks, from Corfu to Trebizond, speak a language marked by the same grammatical corruptions in the most distant lands, the Tsakones alone retain grammatical forms of a distinct nature, and which prove that their dialect has been framed on a different type. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that they have a strong claim to be regarded as the most direct descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Peloponnesus that now exist; and whatever may be the doubts of the learned concerning their ancestors, these very doubts establish a better claim to direct descent from the ancient inhabitants of the province they occupy than can be pleaded by the rest of the modern Greeks, whose constant inter-communications have assimilated their dialects, and melted them into one language.'<sup>2</sup>

Other first-hand authorities have testified in the same sense. G. Deville wrote 'le tzaconien est l'héritier de ce dialect laconien, qui se parlait autrefois précisément dans les mêmes localités.'<sup>3</sup> Dr. Michael Deffner in his article *Das Zakonische als Fortentwicklung des Laconischen Dialectes*<sup>4</sup> writes 'Durch den bisherigen Gang meiner Untersuchung hoffe ich hinreichend bewiesen zu haben, dass der zaconische Dialect so viele Dorismen gerettet hat, dass ich mit vollem Rechte behaupten kann, er müsse auf einen altdorischen zuruck gehen; dass dies aber kein anderer als

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, *op. cit.* iv. p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iv. p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> G. Deville, *Étude du dialecte Tsakonen*, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Archiv für Mittel- und Neugriechische Philologie* (Athen. 1880).



der *laconische* ist, darüber lassen uns folgende Eigenthümlichkeiten des Zaconischen keinen Zweifel.'

G. N. Hatzidakis after enumerating the following Dorisms to be found in Tsakonian, Dorian  $\bar{a}$  for Ionian-Attic  $\eta$ ,  $ov$  for  $υ$ ,  $\sigma$  for  $\delta$ , intervocalic  $\sigma$ , which became  $h$  in Laconian, disappearing in Tsakonian, and many others, says 'Allein die oben erwähnten Characteristica stempeln auf das entschiedenste den zakonischen Dialekt zu einem dorischen und speciell zu einem direkten Nachkommen des alten lakonischen Dialekts. So hat sich 'die gewöhnliche Meinung der Griechen' bestätigt, nach welcher das zakonische Idiom für ein sehr altlakonisches gilt.'<sup>1</sup>

The most recent writer on this subject, Richard Meister, calls attention to some of these Doric features of Tsakonian in his analysis of Dorian and Pre-Dorian dialects, and remarks on one of these 'Dass wir in diesen Formen wirklich phonetische, die regelmässige Schulorthographie durchbrechende Schreibungen vor uns haben und die altspartanische Dialekteigenthümlichkeit der Verhauchung des zwischenvokalischen Sigma im gesprochenen Dialekte wirklich noch zu Mark Aurels Zeiten lebendig war, erkennen wir vor allem daraus, dass sie sich im tsakonischen Dialekt, der modernen Entwicklungsphase des spartanischen, bis in unsere Zeit lebendig erhalten hat.'<sup>2</sup>

It would have been most welcome evidence if we could have demonstrated that modern Albanian was also allied to the Doric tongue. I am not aware that the attempt has ever been made. Greek analogies exist in Albanian and so do Latin and Slav: the difficulty is to determine whether the Graecisms are modern importations or natives in modern dress. For the nonce, authorities are content to accept Albanian as an early branching off from the Aryan tree of languages, as was the Greek. The absence of any Albanian literary monuments previous to the Catholic Fathers' writings of the seventeenth century presents a grave difficulty.

The *prima facie* claims of Sphakia to Dorian ancestry that warrant our consideration from the point of view of anthropometry are of a general nature. That Dorians settled in Crete will not be disputed, but we are here concerned to know whether Sphakia with its neighbour, the eparchy Selino, in the south-west of the island was a specially Dorian district. The Sphakiots themselves, among all the Cretans, claim to be of Dorian

<sup>1</sup> Hatzidakis, G. N., *Einführung in die neugriechische Grammatik*, pp. 8. 9. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Meister, Richard, *Dorer und Achäer*, p. 15.

descent.<sup>1</sup> They certainly are geographically isolated and their reputation singles them out from other Cretans as a particularly martial race with a fondness for playing the part of highwaymen. The enjoyment and admiration which greeted the story of my being robbed in Sphakia were reminiscent of the meed of praise given by Spartans to the youth who stole successfully. Their pride of race dictates the practice of endogamy and a Sphakiot will tell you that a Sphakiot of course marries a Sphakiot. I have not met with such pride or consciousness of race in any other eparchy of Crete.

Historically we can vouch for their freedom from mixture. Their country certainly offers no attractions to the invader. A sterile southern slope facing a hot sub-tropical sun, with a few mountain-plains does not yield sufficient crops for the sparse population, which is forced to import its grain in exchange for charcoal, hides, and cheese. The Turks during their 250 years' occupation of the island left the Sphakiots severely alone; only once did they penetrate into their country, when they hastily swept through during the revolution of 1866. The Venetians marked the Sphakiots on their map *bellicosi*, built a castle on the strand, but could not awe men who possessed safe refuge in mountain fastnesses. Undisturbed and unmixed for the last 700 years, there is no trace of the Saracens who founded the Khandak or Candia in the ninth century and were ousted from the island in the tenth. Beyond that time, we have to count with the Dorians.

Meteorological conditions favoured such a descent. Driven by a north wind, unable to land on the north coast and rounding the south-west corner, Loutro, the port of Sphakia, the haven at which St. Paul's companions advised wintering, offered the one safe shelter on the southern coast, being protected alike from the north-east, north-west, and south-east (Fig. 1). Captain Spratt says of it 'Lutro is the only port on the south coast of Crete in which a vessel could find security for the whole season,'<sup>2</sup> and further shows from an inscription that it was a port frequented in the Emperor Nerva's time by Alexandrian ships.

Turning to philological evidence we find but little has been published

<sup>1</sup> It was at Anopolis in Sphakia that I came upon three poor begrimed Epirots, who for fourteen years had been spending eight months annually in the island for the purpose of scouring and cleaning the iron and copper domestic utensils. If the Dorians brought iron to Crete, their descendants, or their neighbours, are maintaining the tradition, by cleaning it!

<sup>2</sup> Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, ii. p. 249.

on modern Cretan dialects. Richard Meister mentions Dorisms in the Cretan inscriptions and to these we shall have occasion to refer later. Viscount Strangford as far back as 1865 had written 'The speech of the Sfakiots is distinguished from that of the rest of the island by the persistent substitution of  $\rho$  for  $\lambda$ , by some difference in their vocabulary, and by general retention of the extreme Cretan type.'<sup>1</sup> This reminds us that Leake, quoting Thiersch, refers to the change in Tsakonian of  $\lambda$  into  $\rho$ , e.g.  $\gamma\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha$  for  $\gamma\lambda\omicron\sigma\sigma\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\nu$  for  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ .<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Jannaris also writes 'the liquids  $\lambda$   $\rho$  are dropped . . . in Tsaconic,

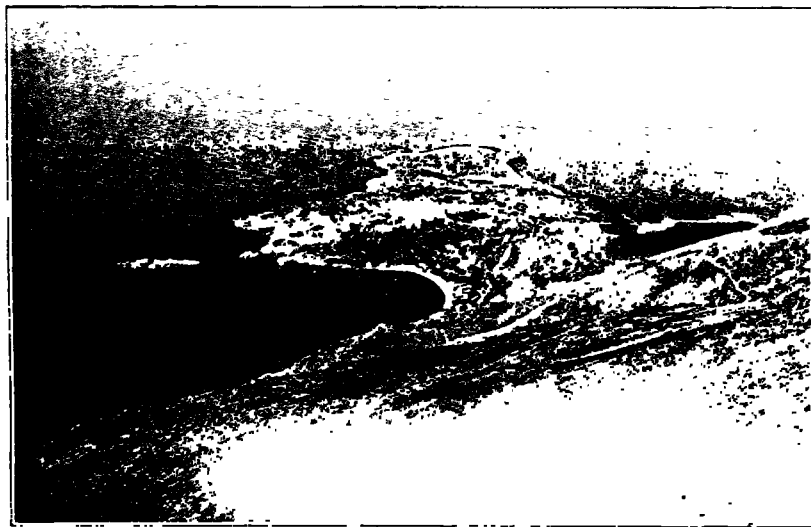


FIG. 1.—LOUTRO, THE PORT OF SPHAKIA.

though only before  $a$ ,  $o$ ,  $u$ , as  $\epsilon'a$  for  $\epsilon'\lambda a$ . A similar phonetic phenomenon is witnessed in Sphakia of Crete, where  $\lambda$  before  $a$ ,  $o$ ,  $u$ , becomes guttural, thus approaching  $\gamma$  as  $\kappa\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ .<sup>3</sup>

We now turn to a consideration of the physiological traits. Unfortunately personal descriptions of the Dorians fail us. We search in vain among ancient writers to learn whether the Dorians were tall or short, fair or dark, blue- or brown-eyed, and of course we are not told whether they were long- or broad-headed. Professor J. L. Myres sums up the matter in these words 'there is no satisfactory evidence as to the

<sup>1</sup> Spratt, *op. cit.* ii. App. p. 360.

<sup>2</sup> Leake, *Peloponnesiaica*, p. 308.

<sup>3</sup> Jannaris, A. N., *An historical Greek Grammar*, Sect. 1870.

coloration of the Spartans, who alone were reputed to be pure-blooded Dorians in historic times.<sup>1</sup> Professor Ridgeway attributes to them an Illyrian origin, but believes that they were not related to the Achaeans and are to be contrasted with them. Since some of the Achaean leaders are described as xanthochrous by Homer, and nowhere in classic writers do we find the Spartans or other Dorian peoples so distinguished, therefore, he claims, the Dorians were melanochrous and not to be distinguished from the native pre-Hellenic population.<sup>2</sup> The anthropologist cannot feel so confident of this conclusion. Greece had been Achaeanised when the Dorians arrived. Achaean chieftains had married daughters of the local princes. Their followers copied their lords' example. Ethnical Greece of those days must then have presented a picture whose background in the main showed dark and short types relieved here and there by blondness and good stature. Such a partially mixed people seems more probable at this era, and the inroad of a people, the Dorians, sharing these very characteristics, if we are to judge by the Albanians of to-day, would yield no contrasts to the picture. We are not concerned here to compare the Dorians with the Achaeans. The identity of the Achaean type is a work of the future, although suggestions come from Crete, where there are skeletal remains of broad-headed intruders of the Late Minoan period; but perhaps I may refer to the Warrior Vase of Mycenae, illustrated in the *Early Age of Greece*, in contradiction of the statement that the Achaeans did not shave the upper lip, whereas the Spartans did. But the matter is more serious than this. If the Illyrians of Professor Ridgeway, or rather the vast majority of them who migrated south, are to be considered long-heads like the pre-Achaean people in the Peloponnesos then I must join issue with him. Anthropologists are generally agreed that during the Neolithic period, and probably into the Bronze Age, a stream of broad-headed peoples was making its way across Europe along the Danube, throwing off shoots southward into the Balkan and Italic peninsulas. In Crete the increase in the percentage of broad-headed skulls is marked from 1500 B.C. on, and especially in the Third Late Minoan Period. But we may here leave aside this, at present, rather barren discussion of what was, and from the present, attempt to deduce the past. Professor Ridgeway is at one with our assumption of the Illyrian origin of the Dorians. It is now our

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, s.v. Dorians.

<sup>2</sup> Ridgeway, 'Who were the Dorians?' p. 303 in *Anthropological Essays* (Oxford, 1907).

province to compare physically the modern representatives of the Illyrians, the Albanians, with the Sphakiots and the Tsakonians.

The modern Albanians are generally distinguished in anthropological works as a tall broad-headed race, with a fair proportion of blond- or brown-haired as opposed to the black-haired type.<sup>1</sup> Other notable features are the frequency of aquiline noses and the almost total absence of the nose *retroussé*. If the anthropologist searches in vain the ends of the earth for a pure race, it is not to be expected that he will find one in Europe, even in such an out-of-the-way corner as Albania.<sup>2</sup> In our Albanian statistics there is a minority of dolichocephals not corresponding to the main type as described above, and as that minority is found in varying proportions among the Tsakonians and Sphakiots, it will simplify our problem to confine ourselves to the brachycephals at present, returning to the discussion of the dolichocephals later.<sup>3</sup>

The brachycephalic Albanians, and I confine myself to those speaking the Gheg dialect, measured by Gluck (14, Pittard 16), and myself 16, amount to 47. Their average cephalic indices are respectively 86.3, c. 85.5, and 85.1 or an average for all of 85.6. This compares with an average for 23 brachycephalic Tsakonians of 85.0, for 98 brachycephalic Sphakiots of 84.7, and for 33 of their neighbours, the Selinots, an average of 85.0. This of course is not in itself convincing, for we might produce a series from the valley of the Rhone or from Hungary with equal approximation. I have called attention to the exact agreement of the cephalic indices of 189 Sitians, and 83 Selinots at extreme ends of Crete, but distinguished them as respectively short-heads allied to Asia Minor, and broad-heads allied to the Illyrian area.<sup>4</sup> Let us therefore turn to a comparison of the actual head-lengths and head-breadths of these peoples. To illustrate the contrast, it may be mentioned here that the average Sitian brachycephal has a head-breadth of 153.2 mm. and head-length of 180.1, mm. compared with the Selinot's head-breadth of 157.2 mm. and head-length of 185.3 mm.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Leopold Gluck, 'Zur Physischen Anthropologie der Albanesen,' *Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnien u. Herzegov.* v. pp. 375-6.

<sup>2</sup> Ripley, W., *Races of Europe*, pp. 412-414.

<sup>3</sup> This minority of dolichocephals amounts to

6.5 per cent.	among the Albanians	93 by L. G., Ed. P. & C. H. H.)
8.0 per cent.	„ „ Tsakonians	(38 by C. H. H.)
13.3 per cent.	„ „ Selinots	(83 „ „ )
22.9 per cent.	„ „ Sphakiots	(280 „ „ )

<sup>4</sup> *Rip. Bull. As. Adv. Science*, Sheffield, 1910.

Unfortunately M. Pittard does not give details which will enable us to abstract the measurements of the brachycephals of his series, therefore I have had to include his 8 dolichocephals and mesaticephals. The figures are for Albanians, 47+8) 182·6 mm. and 155·0 mm., and for Sphakiots 98, 183·3 mm. and 155·2 mm. For 23 Tsakonians the averages are 185·8 mm. and 157·9 mm., and for 33 Selinots 185·3 mm. and 157·5 mm.

The stature of the brachycephalic Albanians is (50) 1688 mm. The Tsakonian brachycephals are well below this average, being only 1662 mm., although in excess of the average stature of 1651 mm. for 70 Greeks, given by J. Deniker. Thirteen of the 23 Tsakonians are over 1690 mm. in height, and I think that a larger series tapping the upper district would probably yield a higher figure. Leake speaks of them as 'a well-made, active, clever race.'<sup>1</sup> The averages for the Sphakiot and Selinot brachycephals are respectively 1710 mm. and 1701 mm., which surpass the rest of the island except Kydonia.

Our next consideration is the facial index, which represents the proportion of the length to the width of the face. These people are all leptoprosopic, or long-faced, although not excessively so. They are better described as having both a long and a broad face, therefore the index does not show an abnormal figure. The indices are as follows:—

		Facial Index.	Face (upper) Length.	Face Breadth
Albanians	{ Gluck } { Hawes }	. av. 55·7	. av. 77·4	. av. 140·2 (G., H., & P.)
Tsakonians	(H.)	.. 55·0	.. 78·6	.. 142·9
Sphakiots	(H.)	... 54·5	.. 70·7	.. 140·6
Selinots	(H.)	. .. 54·5	.. 74·9	.. 140·9

The nasal index indicates a long narrow nose in accordance with all observers' impressions. It approximates to the lowest on the list of Dr. Deniker for the world, *i.e.* to the Armenians.<sup>2</sup> The averages for this index are:—

		Nasal Index	Nose Length	Nose Breadth
Albanians	{ Gluck } { Hawes } { Pittard }	. av. 63·7	.. av. 54·7	.. av. 34·8
Tsakonians	(H.)	.. 61·8	.. 59·3	.. 36·7
Sphakiots	(H.)	. .. 61·2	.. 58·7	.. 35·9
Selinots	(H.)	. .. 61·3	.. 56·0	.. 34·7

<sup>1</sup> Leake. *Travels in the Morea*, ii. p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Deniker J., *Races of Man*, Append. iii.

The description 'aquiline nose' lacks definition, and unavoidably has different values in different observers' records; but such as it is, we will use it.

M. Pittard notes that the Albanian nose is narrow, with a tendency to the aquiline; that 11 out of 24, or about 46 per cent., have aquiline noses. My own observations show about 50 per cent. among the Martino Albanians. Dr. Gluck describes the Albanian nose as having 'doch eine massig tiefe Wurzel (60 per cent.), einen geraden Rucken (63 per cent., eine mittlere Spitze (63 per cent.), flache Flugel (70 per cent.), langgestellte Löcher (90 per cent.).'<sup>1</sup> His index for living Albanians indicates a very narrow nose, but he appears to have mistakenly applied the classification for the nasal index of the skull to the living nose and therefore says 'die Alle haben daher überwiegend breite Nasen.' As to the other peoples we are examining, their aquilinity is not so pronounced. Their noses are noticeably narrow and straight, not of a Southern type and very seldom *retroussé*.

The Tsakonians have about 25 per cent. that can be classed as aquiline. Sphakia shows about 15 per cent., but perhaps to these should be added over 40 per cent., whose aquilinity, though but moderate, includes that well-known feature of the Albanian and Armenian nose, the 'drop-tip.' In Selino the two kinds together do not amount to 25 per cent.

The Albanians are credited with a high head, although not so high as that of the Armenians. The height index registers the proportion of the height (from the ear-hole to the top of the head) to the length:—

				Height Index.
Martino Albanians (H.)	...	.	...	74.2
Tsakonians	...	..	..	73.4
Sphakiots	...	..	..	74.3
Selinots	..	..	...	72.5

We next come to hair- and eye-colours, and here the Tsakonians present a greater brunetteness. Classing hair-colours as *blonde*, *medium*, to include light, medium, and chestnut; *dark* to comprise dark-brown and black; the following is a comparison:—<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Pisko, *Aufnahmen der Haar- und Augenfarben bei Albanesischen Schulkinder*. These are from Scutari, which is not an area where we look for the pure Albanian. Also the hair of children darkens with age and cannot be used, without interpretation, for direct comparison with adults. Of 572 children, 275 have black, 172 medium, and 125 fair hair. Of 296 of these, 184 had medium eyes and 112 grey or blue.

	Blonde		Medium.		Dark.
Albanians	c. 1'9	.	c. 19'2	...	c. 78'9
Tsakonians	—	...	—	.	100
Sphakiots	1'0	..	3'1	...	95'9
Selinots	3'0	..	9'0	..	88'0

In the case of the Martino Albanians measured by the writer, it should be noted that the distribution was as among the Tsakonians, *i.e.* 100 per cent. dark.

The following is the comparison of eye-colour. Blue, grey, green eyes, and any combination of these colours, are included under *light*. Any mixture of these with brown is classed as *hazel*, and brown eyes, whether light, medium, or dark, are comprised in *dark*. Here again in pigmentation we find the Tsakonians darker, and the nearest to them in this respect are the Martino Albanians.

	Light.		Hazel		Dark.
Albanians	33'3	..	22'2	...	44'5
Tsakonians	—	.	8'7	...	91'3
Sphakiots	30'6	...	26'5	...	42'9
Selinots	38'1	...	9'4	...	62'5

The evidence on the physical side may thus be summed up. In the more permanent, the structural characteristics, the cephalic index, the actual length and breadth and height of the head, the index and measurements of the face, there is considerable agreement. In the pigmentation of the hair and eyes the Tsakonians alone show greater brunette traits.

There is yet to be added another anthropological comparison. It is novel, the one, indeed, that led me to this problem. Anthropologists value highly the study of the shapes of skulls; but the living head has in the main escaped all but diametral measurements. The real shape of the living head has had to depend for its classification, even with Professor Sergi, on photography or on visual impression. How illusive these methods are, even to the trained anthropologist, is not realized. It is not only that the hair conceals or disguises the true shape, but one is misled by the difference in the angles at which individuals hold their heads. A way had to be found of studying head-shapes always from the same angle, and of plotting head-curves on a common basis for comparison and classification.

The instrument that I use has been briefly described in a report to the



Cretan Committee of the British Association.<sup>1</sup> By means of a flexible strip of metal and an instrument of great precision for determining the exact relation of the curve to the base, I take the sagittal curve or contour, that is, from the back to the front of the head over the crown, or more definitely, from the *inion* to the point below the *nasion* at which the Frankfort baseline<sup>2</sup> projected cuts the nose. From my experience thus far, and I have taken about 1,700 of these contours, I find the sagittal of more value than the transverse or the horizontal. When the curves are obtained they are transferred to millimetre paper on the Frankfort basis. One of the first that I took on my way to Crete in 1909 was that of an Albanian from the island of Spetsa. The form struck me by its unfamiliarity. In contradistinction to the low oval of the Mediterranean race or the Anglo-Saxon, this was high at the back of the head; in fact, to anticipate conclusions, in this group of peoples, the Albanians, Tsakonians, and Sphakiots, the sagittal line continues to rise from front to back after the bregma is passed, or at least to maintain its height and fall abruptly as compared with the immediate though graduated fall of the Mediterranean race type. This contrast may be seen in the examples *d, e, f*, on Pls. XV. B and XVI., where the Mediterranean race type is represented by two Cretans from East and West of the island and a Sardinian, and examples *a, b, c*, on Pls. XV. B and XVI., or *a, b, c, d, e, f*, on Pl. XV. A, where the brachycephalic type is represented by Albanians, Sphakiots, and Tsakonians.

The contrast is obvious from the photograph of two boys who live in the same village (Fig. 2). The bigger boy, had he held his head in the same plane as the other, would have shown even greater contrast, although it must be remembered that with the years, the extraordinary disproportion between the front and back will be somewhat modified. The bigger boy is rather an extreme, though not unique, example. Lest it should be thought he is not normal, I may add that his head was not bandaged as a child nor accidentally deformed.

My first step was to procure a series of Albanian contours. My time was limited and a visit to Albania was impossible. By the kindness of Mr. Steele of the Lake Copais Company, I was enabled to visit one of

<sup>1</sup> *Rep. Brit. Ass. Adv. Science*, Winnipeg, 1909, pp. 290-291.

<sup>2</sup> This is the horizontal line drawn through the upper margin of the ear-hole and the lower margin of the orbit, or eye-hole of the skull.

five pure Albanian villages in the mountains to the north-east of Lake Copais. I purposely avoided the so-called Albanian villages of the plain, which I knew were not free from Greek unions. And here it is as well to mention that these Albanians are of the Gheg-speaking tribes, and not Tosks. Finlay wrote 'The Albanian colonies in Greece are all composed of Tosks'<sup>1</sup> and nearly all authorities have copied his statement. A sea-captain from Spetsa told me he spoke Gheg, but whether he was an exception or not, I do not know. This is a point worth investigation. I



FIG. 2 — CONTRASTED HEAD SHAPES.

(Cretan Boys from the same Sphakiot Village. Cephalic Index, smaller Boy, 75.4, bigger Boy, 88.7.)

measured 45 persons, but excluding 7 women, children, and others who possessed an ancestor from outside Albanian ranks, the number was reduced to 38.

My work took me thence to Crete. Here it was necessary to avoid any confusion from the presence of Albanian blood: for the Turks during the last 250 years had employed Albanian soldiers in the island. The

<sup>1</sup> Finlay, G., *op. cit.* vi. p. 35.

infiltration was no doubt small and by this time attenuated, and further, most of them would naturally have been Mussulmans, and it is easy to exclude the Mussulman population from our records. Nevertheless I was fortunate in the choice of Sphakia, for that eparchy has kept away Turks and Venetians alike. If, therefore, it showed approximation in head-form to the Albanian type, this could not be attributed to modern Albanian infiltration. If any who read this have any doubt as to the distinctness of the normal Sphakiot contour, the following incident may convince them. When as yet I was five days' journey from Sphakia, but had already taken the contours of a few Sphakiots, I was struck with Sphakiot characteristics in the contour of a boy who had given me his ancestry as from Pediada, an eparchy of low, east-central Crete. Calling my servant, I said 'Go into the Bazaar, seek out the father of this boy, and ask him where his father came from.' Soon after, my man came back with the reply that the grandfather of the boy was from Askiphou in Sphakia, a statement corroborated by his neighbours. This was only one among several similar cases. It must not be thought that Sphakia is the only district of Crete where this type of head contour is found, but the absence of the Albanian element from there gave me confidence, and certainly the type is more abundant there than elsewhere Fig. 3.

My next step was to visit the Tsakonians of the Peloponnesos on my way back from Crete. Language might be a clue to race. At any rate the attempt was worth the making. I was entirely satisfied with the isolation of Tsakonia, hemmed in by steep mountains on the north, south, and east. Lack of time alone prevented my visiting the upland villages, but of the 59 persons whom I measured in Leonidi, some hailed from the higher villages. Of these some were children and others came from mixed villages on the outskirts of Tsakonia. These I rejected, reducing my number to 38. The villages included by me are: Leonidi, Prastos, Palaiochori, Platonaki, Korakavuni, Tyros, Kosinas, Pulithra and Kephalia. In all my experience of taking contours of heads, whether of Armenians, French, Italians, Russians, Epirots, or of Cretans from end to end of that island, I never happened upon such a homogeneous set of head-curves as these of the Tsakonians. One after the other they came from my hands with the same distinguishing characteristics, as illustrated in three 'Plate XV. A, *a*, *b*, and *c*, selected from the many. There

is no reason to attribute it to inbreeding, that is, to close inbreeding in a town of more than 3500 inhabitants or rather, among double that number, since the upland villages were drawn upon as well.

It must not, however, be supposed that all the individuals in each of these areas show the same curve. Such a result would indeed throw doubt on the method of obtaining them, and justly so. Even if there be a definite biological process of breeding out of intrusive minorities, or a dominance of certain characteristics, yet the anthropologist cannot



FIG. 3 —“A MODERN DORIAN.” SIHAKIOT WITH ALBANIAN TYPE OF HEAD CONTOUR. (See Pl. XV B, c.)

time his arrival at the end of such process or before other mixings have begun. The head contours show a variation shading off from an extreme type of the characteristically high post-brëgmatic region (*i.e.* behind the top of the head) to the apparently typical Mediterranean race with its low oval. This is more noticeable among the Sphakiots, of whom I have a large number of head-curves; but it is nevertheless to

be noted that nowhere else in Crete are there so many of the former type.<sup>1</sup>

This having been admitted, it is possible to select from the collections a generalised type, that which we may reasonably assume to be the normal and to comprise the most frequently recurrent characters.

Having selected the three types, the Albanian, Tsakonian, and Sphakiot, do they agree?

Exactly similar curves from my limited collections are forthcoming from Sphakia and Tsakonia, and from Sphakia and Albania, regions hundreds of miles apart and each of them isolated mountain areas. And that the reader himself may judge of these I have appended reduced copies of them. On Plate XV.A, *a*, *b*, and *c*, are from Tsakonia, and *d*, *e*, and *f*, are from Sphakia; *a* in Plate XV.B is from a Martino Albanian and *b* and *c* are from Sphakia. For contrast, *d*, *e*, and *f* on Plate XV.B are of the Mediterranean race type, *d* from East Crete (Lasithi), *e* from West Crete (Kydonia and Kissamos), and *f* from Sardinia.

It will be seen that the normal or most frequently recurring type in Sphakia is scarcely to be distinguished from that of Tsakonia, while there occurs in the former a slightly modified form showing a little rounding of the angles which reproduces the Albanian type.

It would be strange did these slight divergences not exist; more than strange, incredible, considering the different proportions of the earlier natives, pre-Hellenes, Kydonians, or what-not, that these peoples found in occupation, as well as the infiltrations, however small, which have taken place in the course of 3,000 years. As for their relative purity, judging from the contour types, the Tsakonian seems to be the purest, while the only difference between those of the Albanians and the Sphakiots seem to be a slightly higher forehead in the latter.

To the analogies found among the orthodox anthropometric observations I have added similarities in head contour, similarities which I fail to find among any of a dozen other peoples I have contoured. They are certainly striking and call for some explanation. I do not claim to have produced overwhelming evidence. But it was high time that physical

<sup>1</sup> The only serious evidence, in the opinion of the writer, put forward for the non-permanency of the head form is that of the Report of the Immig. Com. of the U.S. Gov., which rumour says is to be withdrawn as incorrect. When the variation of the Boer from the Dutch prototype is used as an argument, one should remember the varied ancestry of the Boers. Their very names advertise the Huguenot element; history supplies another from the pressgangs of Europe.

Anthropology should contribute something to the much discussed question of Dorian ancestry, and these data may bear fruit in suggestions to other workers in the field.

In the interests of clearness, the argument might well be left thus ; but this is not intended to be a brief, and there are obscurities and objections that should not be overlooked.

It may seem that we have erred by proving too much : that in insisting on the antiquity of the Tsakonians in physique and in speech, we have actually identified them with the earliest inhabitants of the Peloponnesos—the pre-Dorians who were represented in the Laconian state by the Helots and the Perioikoi, not by their true Dorian masters, the Spartans. But our anthropometrical conclusions are in accord with the philological conclusions of Richard Meister on this point. He has shown that the Tsakonian dialect represents the *Altspartanische*, not the speech of the rural Laconians,<sup>1</sup> and I have identified the major element in the ethnology of Tsakonia with the Dorian invaders of the Peloponnesos, while admitting the presence of a minority of the older, short, dark, long-headed Mediterranean race. This minority is smaller among them to-day than was the broad-headed minority in Middle Minoan Crete, at which time we regard that island as occupied by the Mediterranean race.

Another point which requires comment and explication is the question of the modern Albanian type. We have accepted for this a tall, dark, broad-headed race with a sprinkling of the lighter element.

Included in this is a shorter dark element which I am inclined to believe is the Mediterranean long-head. There is, however, considerable diversity of opinion owing to the want of a large series of measurements of the true Albanian. Weisbach measured 17 Albanians and reported them brachycephalic and of medium stature (1664 mm.). Dr. Leopold Gluck found 30 Albanians to be mixed as to cephalic index and stature, and referring to the contradictory findings of Löher, Weisbach, and Cyprien-Roberts writes ‘ wir müssen dieselben vielmehr als ein Mischvolk bezeichnen bei dem die Dolicho- und Mesocephalie nahezu ebenso häufig wie die Brachycephalie anzutreffen ist<sup>2</sup>. . . . Sie sind zwar sehr häufig dunkelhaarig und dunkelaugig, doch trifft man unter ihnen nahezu gleich oft Individuen von gemischtem Typus.<sup>3</sup>’ Eight of the thirty were short (under 1650 mm.). M. Ed. Pittard says ‘ Il résulte des quelques renseignements ci-dessus que la

<sup>1</sup> *U.s.* p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gluck, Dr. L., *op. cit.* p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

brachycéphalie paraît être l'apanage du plus grand nombre. D'autre part, la présence de dolichocéphales montrerait qu'il n'y a pas d'unité dans la 'race' Albanaise.<sup>1</sup> His figures show 9 out of 24 tall over 1700 mm., and 9 others are short. Out of 24, 12 are brown-eyed, 5 hazel and but one of the 24 is fair-haired. It will be remembered that the writer's point of view accepts this diversity, defining it and dating it back to prehistoric times.

Dr. Deniker summing up the evidence from 6 skulls examined by Zampa and Virchow, and 9 others by Dr. L. Gluck, finds an average cranial index of 88.1, equal to a cephalic index of 90.1, for the province of Scutari north and south. For the rest of the Ghegs, he gives Dr. Gluck's average for 30 living Albanians, viz. 82.6.<sup>2</sup> The 9 skulls, however, of Dr. Gluck's, classed as Ghegs from south of Scutari, are from Kavaja and Delbiniste; Kavaja is on the borders of Toskland, probably also Delbiniste, although I cannot find it on any map. The Tosks differ from the Ghegs in their sagittal curves and are hyper-brachycephalic. The average cephalic index of a dozen from rather farther south, is 89.9 and 5 out of 12 exceed 90.<sup>3</sup> We do not expect to find in the coastal plains, either to the south or in Scutari, the original Albanian type where Romans, Venetians, and Serbs have mingled with the earlier inhabitants.

The two most recent writers on the subject of High or Upper Albania Miss Edith M. Durham and Baron Nopcsa, who probably know this region better than any foreigner, confine the true Albanian or oldest Albanians to High Albania and indeed to those that inhabit the Pulati region, the Merturi, Shala, Nikaj, and tribes. These people comprise both types, the tall with a proportion of brown-haired, blue- or hazel-eyed individuals and the short dark type.<sup>4</sup> By Baron Nopcsa,<sup>5</sup> I believe that both these types are labelled more or less brachycephalic. If I am correct in thus understanding Baron Nopcsa, then none of the collections of Ghegan records, with which anthropologists have provided us, represent the true Albanian, neither Dr. Gluck's, M. Ed. Pittard's, nor the writer's. The mean cephalic index of a mixed race of two brachycephalic peoples, as described by Baron Nopcsa, must of necessity yield a higher figure than 82.7, which is the average of the 93 Albanians we have Dr. G. 30=82.6; M. Ed. P.

<sup>1</sup> Pittard, Ed. *op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Deniker, J., *Les races de l'Europe*.

<sup>3</sup> C. H. Hawes, not yet published.

<sup>4</sup> Baron Nopcsa's *Saba & Klementi*, Suajevo, 1910, I have not seen. Moreover it is in S. 1b. I am therefore indebted to the kindness of Miss Durham for notes on this.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*

25 = 83.8, and C.H.H. 38 = 82.0). The mean index of 52,410 Venetians is 85.1, of 297 Armenians (Chantre) is 85.7 and of 30 Dalmatians is 87.0, and the two former (I am not informed as to the latter) comprised dolichocephals. My explanation of this low brachycephalic average for Albanians is the presence of a dolichocephalic type. I find it in all the records and I am inclined to associate it with the short dark Mediterranean race which preceded the broad-headed in Southern Europe.

Miss Durham's valuable contributions to Anthropology did not unfortunately for us include measurements; but she has given us careful descriptions.<sup>1</sup> If I use these, she must not be held responsible for any conclusions which I draw from them. Miss Durham more than once refers to the short (often under 5 ft. 3 in.) dark Albanian as round-headed. Suspecting that the term 'round-headed' was not used in the narrow technical sense of the anthropologist I ventured to ask whether this was from a lateral or vertical point of view. The round or rather oval-shaped head, viewed from the side would on the Adriatic coast contrast with the high angular Montenegrin head. I found that this was what had impressed Miss Durham and commenting on the two sagittal curves which I submitted, that of the Albanian (of Martino) and the Mediterranean race type, she writes 'B (Pl. XV. B, *a*) is more the shape of the fair (tall) Albanian type. C (Pl. XV. B, *d*) is, I think, something like the little dark type. . . . I do not like to be positive, but my impression is that C is longer from X (*inion*) to X (*glabella*), in proportion to the length of his face than is B. But I feel that mere eye impressions are not very trustworthy.' If B, *i.e.* the contour *d* on Pl. XV. B, is that of the short dark Albanian, he is of the Mediterranean race, as I have surmised, and if C, *i.e.* the contour of *a* on Pl. XV. B, is that of the tall (sometimes fair) Albanian, he corresponds to the Martino Albanian whom I have accepted as my type.

One more authority on Adriatic peoples should be quoted. Dr. Niko Zupanić in his article, 'Die Illyrier' writes 'Bevor es zum Vergleiche zwischen den Illyriern des V. and VI. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und ihren heutigen Nachkommen, den Albanesen, kam, wurde der physische Habitus der letzteren in verschiedenen Teilen ihrer Heimat eingehend besprochen. Als

<sup>1</sup> Miss Durham believes that the short dark Albanian was the earlier and the tall (often fair) Albanian the later, which is the position taken in this paper; but to the prehistoric arrival of the latter element she would not agree.



ethnisch rein werden die Gegenden zwischen den Flüssen Škumbija und Mat, sowie nordöstlich von Skadar (z. B. Pulati) hingestellt. Der ethnologischen Homogenität entspricht auch die somatologische, denn die Albanesen der erwähnten Gebiete sind durchweg brachycephal (100 per cent.), dunkelhaarig, und dunkelaugig, also ein vollkommen ausgesprochener Kontrast ihrer Vorfahren aus der Hallstatt-Epoche.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Zupanić's statement that the ethnologically pure Albanian is to be found between the rivers Škumbija and Mat is scarcely in agreement with other authorities. Nor is it in accord with Baron Nopsca's reports to say that 100 per cent. are dark-haired and dark-eyed. I have given reasons for believing that brachycephaly is not without exception. He further makes the interesting claim that the Illyrians 'the forerunners of the Albanians,' were represented by the men of Hallstatt and Glasinatz, who were as he reiterates (in opposition to H. Kiepert, W. Tomaschek, M. Hoernes, and A. Dimitz), 'xanthodolichocephal.' This seems a rather *ex parte* description of a people of whom we have, according to Dr. Zupanić's own figures, more brachycephals than dolichocephals. The skulls referred to are from Glasinatz, and the proportions given are dolichocephals 29 per cent., mesocephals 37 per cent. and brachycephals 34 per cent. Now it must be remembered that these are only the skulls of those that were inhumed. At least 35 per cent of the total interments were cremated, and at Hallstadt the graves of the cremated numbered 455 to 535 containing unburned skeletons. When we remember that cremation is generally associated with the broad-headed race of central Europe, the majority of brachycephals of Hallstadt and Glasinatz is greatly increased. The assumption that the Hallstadt man was blond has apparently no more authority than the following statement of Dr. Zupanić 'Hauptsächlich besaßen die Hellen jener Zeiten (von XII. vorchristlichen Jahrhunderte bis auf heute) die Merkmale der Xanthodolichocephalie, obschon nebenbei die Melanodolichocephalie und auch die Melanobrachycephalie merklich vertreten waren.'<sup>2</sup> We have to tread carefully when drawing any general conclusions from skulls of Classical or pre-Classical Greece, for the great majority hail from Attica. The general tendency looking backward through the ages, in Greece, is from a moderate broad-headedness to-day, through mesaticephaly to long-headedness, but there seems to be no reason what-

<sup>1</sup> *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1907, pp. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 23.

ever to associate blondness with the early dolichocephaly. In Crete, of over 100 skulls dating around 2000 B.C., the great majority are dolichocephalic and correspond in every other way to the short dark Mediterranean race. I have shown that their descendants exist to-day in the mountain areas, and there exhibit the darkest characters in the island. Archaeology and philology are every year drawing the links closer between Greece and Crete of pre-Hellenic days, and there is every reason to suppose that the pre-Hellenic peoples of both areas belonged to the same stock.

Moreover *xanthos* in the mouth of Homer was probably as elastic a term as it is in the mouth of a modern Cretan or Greek, with whom it includes brown hair of every shade but the darkest, and therefore should not be translated as blond. From general considerations it is to be associated with a brachycephalic type. We have already referred to a broad-headed stream of peoples ascending the Danube and sending offshoots southward. Their skulls, those that have not been cremated, have been found in Neolithic Switzerland. Only by prehistoric invasions can we reasonably account for the brachycephalism in the Balkan and Italic peninsulas. In addition there is the evidence from Crete which has already been mentioned.

Turning now to the Sphakiots, there should not be omitted Richard Meister's philological conclusions drawn from an analysis of the classical inscriptions of Crete. Contrary to the evidence of the modern dialects, which emphasize the claims of Sphakia to be the most Dorian district of the island, Meister concludes from the geographical distribution of Dorisms in the inscriptions, that central Crete was most Dorian, and that that influence (in dialect) diminished with the distance E. and W. from the centre.<sup>1</sup> Sphakia is distant from the centre, and though I am not aware that Meister quotes any inscription from Sphakia itself, he does so from its neighbour Selino. But the evidence, interesting as it is, appears too slender to serve as the basis for a theory of the distribution of the Dorians.

To sum up our argument. There is a body of philological and historical evidence which warranted a comparison of the physical characters of the Albanians, Tsakonians, and Sphakiots in order to ascertain whether their claims to Dorian ancestry could be upheld. No race is pure, and we found among each of these peoples a varying minority of a short dark long-headed type (Mediterranean race) but the main type is broad-headed and

<sup>1</sup> Meister, R., *op. cit.* pp. 94-97.

inclined to be of a more than average stature, and though in the main dark, has a considerable percentage of lighter-eyed, and a sprinkling of light or medium-haired.

There is considerable agreement among these peoples who claim Dorian ancestry, more particularly in the structural characteristics; and there is remarkable accord in the sagittal contours of the head.

CHARLES H. HAWES.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM PRAESOS.

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THESE fragments of inscriptions were found on the Altar-hill at Praesos in the excavation of 1901 and 1904 (*B.S.A.* viii. 254-260; x. 115, 247). The two Eteocretan inscriptions and the terracottas and other minor finds were published forthwith. The stones now described are of some interest as indicating that the sanctuary on this hill—Dr. Halbherr's 'Third Acropolis'—was the place where official records of treaties and other public documents were exhibited.

Our work in 1901, confined to the level hill-top, yielded quantities of votive offerings in bronze and terracotta, but few architectural fragments or inscribed stones. A temenos-wall and buildings within it, much disturbed by previous diggings, were laid bare. A rectangle of levelled rock seemed to indicate the site of a temple, but not a stone even of its foundations remained; the Hierapytnians, who destroyed Praesos in the second century before Christ, had made a clean sweep of any buildings that stood within the temenos-wall. In view of the number and variety of the architectural members found on the surrounding slopes and their relatively fresh condition, there can no longer be any doubt that they and the inscribed stelai were deliberately broken and thrown over the cliffs or outside the wall which bounds the temenos on the north.

The inscriptions of 1901 came from the slope outside the north gate of the temenos; the second Eteocretan inscription was found on the steps. The temenos-wall, roughly built of large undressed stones, still stands in places over six feet high. In 1904 the search along its outer face was continued and two Hellenic fragments (Nos. 7 and 10) were recovered. The whole of the area within the temenos had been cleared and refilled in 1901; but it seemed possible that older inscriptions might have been built

into the only well-preserved structure which it contained, a narrow closed stoa, constructed within and against the temenos wall (see plan *B.S.A.* viii. p. 255). Its front wall, 1.80 m. thick, is still preserved to a height of 1.65 m. above the original floor-level, and beneath this are broader foundations extending some 1.70 m. deeper. I had the two faces re-opened and extracted all likely stones, but found neither inscriptions nor architectural details.

We were more successful on the west side, which is at first precipitous, and then descends in irregular cultivated terraces encumbered with fallen rocks. Ancient building-stones had been noticed in several field-walls on this side in 1901, and some architectural fragments, part of an Ionic column in shell-conglomerate and pieces of a Doric triglyph-frieze, came to light in a trial made at the foot of the precipice. It seemed worth while, therefore, to work through the whole of the terraces and their supporting-walls from the valley below up to the limestone cliff. Numerous architectural members, including parts of at least three different buildings, and eight or nine inscribed fragments were obtained in this way. The largest haul, including the third Eteocretan slab, was made on a ledge halfway down the steep west face, buried under masses of fallen rock. Most of the ground belonged to Retseb Aga Perdikakes, the fine old Moslem farmer from whom Dr. Halbherr obtained the first Eteocretan inscription. He gave us a free hand and it is a pleasure to acknowledge his courtesy here.

Our search along the east face was less exhaustive but wholly barren. Possibly such stones as were thrown down on this side were utilised in the building of the Venetian village, called Pressos or Prassus, which lay 250 yards to the N.E. But to demolish the ruined churches which still stand on its site, and to excavate the ruins of the surrounding houses, would be a costly business. If ever the village of Vavelloi is re-built, other stones from Praesos may come to light there (see No. 13). The Altar-hill is not likely to yield anything more.

1. Fragment of coarse yellow freestone, 1.28 m. high, 1.26 broad, 1.10 thick, found in 1904 built into a field-wall on the S.W. face of the Altar-hill. It is the missing right hand portion of a decree obtained here about 1886 by Prof. Halbherr and published in *Museo Italiano*, iii. p. 599. This stone gave the beginning of ten lines, and the new piece completes

the first six of them. Together they form a slab .55 broad and .40 high, incomplete below. Letters .02 to .025 high. Traces of red paint were visible in the letters of the new fragment. The whole inscription has now been picked out with red by the authorities of the Candia Museum (Fig. 1).

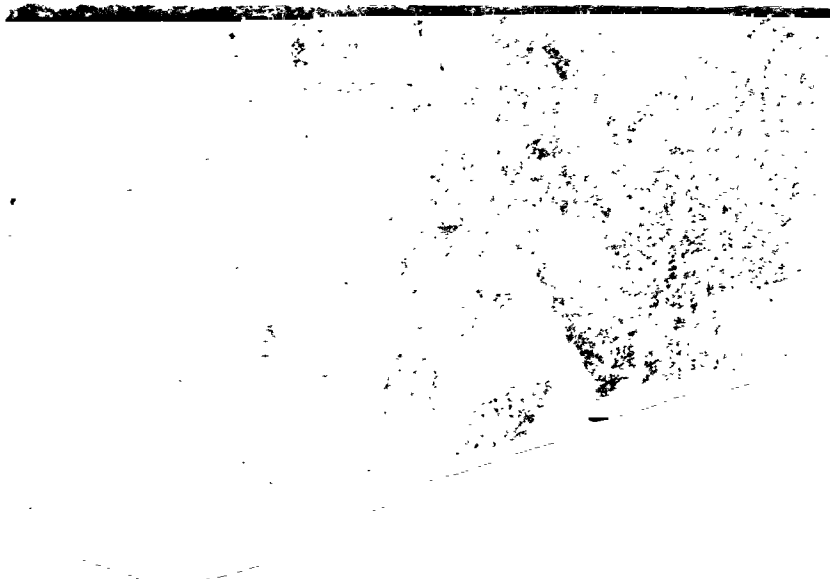


FIG. 1.—DECREE FROM PRAESOS. (1 : 5.)

Θεὸς Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ  
ἔδοξε Πραισίων τοῖς ἄρ-  
χουσι καὶ τῷ κο[ι]νῷ ἐκκλη-  
σίας κυρίας γενομένης.

5 Λέοντα Πανσ[ανίου] Ἀθηναῖ-  
ον καὶ Θράσων[α Θρα]σωνίδου  
Ἀθηναῖον φιλ[ίας] ἐνεκεν καὶ  
εὐνοίας τῆς [εἰς τὴν Πραισί-  
ων πόλιν δε[δόχθαι]

10 IOY

The patronymic in line 6 fails to support Prof. Halbherr's suggestion that this Thrason might be a certain Θράσων Θράσωνος, emissary of Antigonos Gonatas and proposer of a decree in honour of Zeno at Athens in the year 263 B.C. (Diog. Laert. vii. 1. 9), and consequent

speculations as to relations between Antigonus and Praesos (De Sanctis in *Mon. Ant. dei Lincei*, xi. 495 ; Niese, *Gesch. der gr. u. mak. Staaten*, ii. 628, n. 3 ; Scrinzi, *La Guerra di Lyttos*, p. 7, n. 27, and Cardinali, *Creta e le grande Potenze Ellenistiche*, pp. 75 and 78).

2. Found 1902 on the hill-top. Two fragments, together '30 high, '22 broad, '115 thick. Letters '01 high. Museum numbers, 105, 110.

The lettering of this and the following inscriptions, 2-7 and 9-11, and 13, points to the fourth or third century before Christ.

No. 8 may be later, No. 12 is a century or so older.

	A	
	ΩΙΑΥ	Δ
	ΠΟΜΕΙ	
	ΥΝΘΗΚΑΝ	
5	ΦΑΝΗΤ	ΝΤ
	ΓΙ	Ε
	ΙΑΥΤ	ΟΙΣΗ
	Μ	ΩΝΠΟΛΙΤ
	Ε	ΑΣΤΑΣΙ
10		ΟΛΛΩ ΚΑΙΑ
		ΚΑΙΟΥΚΕΓΚ
		ΠΟΧΩΡΑ
		ΘΕΞΙΟ
	Λ	

Evidently part of a treaty; we may suspect the name of Lyttos in l. 7. In l. 4 we have *συνθήκαν*, in l. 11 *καὶ οὐκ ἔγκ[αρποῖ]*, in l. 12 *ἀπὸ χώρας*, which is often used in the sense of 'abroad.'

3. Found 1904 on the W. slope. Fragment '11 high, '185 broad, '07 thick: r. edge preserved. Letters '013 to '015 high, much smaller, between incised lines. Museum number, 104.

Ι	/	
—ΑΔΟΛΩΣΚΑΙΑΠΡC		ἀδόλως καὶ ἀπρο[φυσίστως]
ΕΙΞΛΥΤΤΟΝΚΑΙ		εἰς Λυττον καὶ
ΞΚΑΙΕΝΕΙΡΗ		ς καὶ ἐν εἰρή[ναι καὶ ἐν πολέμωι
ΙΟΙΠΟΛΕ		ι οἱ πολέ[μιοι.

Another treaty, probably with Lyttos. For the formula ἀδόλως καὶ ἀπροφασίστως cf. *B.C.H.* ix. 6, 7, ll. 4 and 14.

For ἀδόλως see also Collitz-Bechtel, *Dialektinschr., Creta* (ed. Blass, 5024, 9 and 5039, 17; for ἀπροφασίστως, 5018, 15; 5024, 16, and 5075, 7.

Dr. Xanthoudides has recently published this fragment by mistake as found at Lato (H. Nikolaos), in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908, p. 219.

4. Found 1904 in field-wall near No. 1. Fragment .27 high, .15 broad, about .10 thick: r. edge of stone (but not of inscription) preserved. Badly weather-worn. Letters .014 high. Museum number, 103.

ΑΥΛ  
ΑΙΚΑΙΤΑΙ  
N O IOI  
ΕΙΜΕΙ  
5 ΝΕΡ  
ΚΑΙΠΛ  
ΛΕΣΩΩΝ  
CT ΛΟΜ  
ΝΑΜΙ  
10 ΛΙΤΑΟΜ  
ΩΙΑCTAC  
ΚΑΙΤΑ/  
ΓΡ

Lines 10 and 11 present a close resemblance to lines 8 and 9 of No. 2.

5. Two fragments, perhaps of one inscription. The material is a fine freestone. Letters deeply cut and well preserved; average height .016. They were picked out with red paint.

(a) 1904 from W. slope, .13 broad, .075 thick. Museum number, 106.

ΔΕΚΑΟΚΙΣ  
ΠΕΝΤΕΑΡ  
ΣΙΩΝΑΡΧ  
ΑΝΒΟΑ  
5 ΤΩΝΕΓ  
ΜΓ



(b) 1904, foot of W. slope, '175 high, '07 thick. Museum number, 151.

ΙΗ  
 ΙΔΕ  
 ΙΛΔΥΟ  
 ΤΑΦΡΑΚ  
 5    \ΟΝΤΩΝ  
       ΠΙΤΟΥΤΩ  
       ΤΕΛΛΟ  
       ΡΟΞΕΤ  
       Ο

L. 4 suggests a mention of *πλοῖα κατάφρακτα*.

6. Found 1904 on W. slope. Fragment, '23 broad, '06 thick; inscribed surface '14 high, '12 broad; part of l. edge preserved. Letters '014 high, Ο much smaller, between incised lines; remains of red paint. Museum number, 108.

ΩΞ  
 ΑΦΑΣΚΑΚ  
 ΙΔΕΟΙΜΕΝ  
 ΘΑΜΕΡΑΙ  
 5    ΩΟΝΤΙ  
       ΑΛΛΑ  
       ⋈ Α

L. 4 *ἀνθαμέραν*.

7. Found 1904 outside N. wall of *τέμενος*. Fragment '29 high, '22 broad, '13 thick. Letters '014 high. Only a small part of the inscribed surface is preserved. Museum number, 168.

Ο  
 ΠΡΟΓΕΙ  
 ΞΑΝΑΛΑ  
 ΟΙΟ

8. Found 1901 outside N. wall of *τέμενος*. Fragment '07 high, '09 broad, '06 thick. Letters '015 high, regular and deeply cut, Ο and ⋈ smaller. The curved ⋈ and Λ appear on no other inscription from this site. Museum number, 113.

ΥΙΤΑΧΑΙ  
ΑΛΛΟΙΣ  
ΟΝ

9. Found 1901 outside N. wall of *τέμενος*. Fragment '10 high, '12 broad, '04 thick; r. edge preserved. Letters '014 high. Museum number, 107.

ΝΟΝ  
ΩΣΚΑΙΑΥ  
ΙΣΕΡΙΓΙ  
ΙΘΕΣ

L. 3 *τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις.*

10. Found 1904 outside N. wall of *τέμενος*. Fragment '10 high, '18 broad, '07 thick. Letters '025 high, between incised lines. Museum number, 109.

ΔΩΙ  
ΝΚΑΙΓ  
ΟΠ

11. Found 1904 on N.W. shoulder of Altar-hill. Fragment from pediment of stele, '12 high, '11 broad, '04 thick. Letters '019.

ΑΙΤΥ                      Ἀγαθ]ῆ Τύ[χα

12. Found 1904 on S.W. face, in deposit with the third Eteocretan inscription. Fragment '13 high, '35 broad, '04 thick; lower edge preserved. Letters '03 high. Museum number, 112.

ΕΛ  
ΙΑΡΙΑ

The archaic lettering recalls that of the first Eteocretan inscription,<sup>1</sup> and the material is the same.

13. To these may be added an inscription found in the ruined Moslem village of *Βοβίλλαι* and in all probability derived from the ruins of Praesos. It is No. 70 in the Candia Museum, '48 m. high, '15 broad, '41 thick. The inscribed face is only preserved to a height of '33. The stone has been

<sup>1</sup> *Musco Italiano di Antichità Classica*, ii. 673.

dressed for building and is only a slice of what must originally have been a large block. None of the original edges are preserved. Forms AΣN. Letters .017 high.

ΑΡΤΙΑ

(Two lines perhaps intentionally erased.)

ΕΡΤ

(Space for one line, never inscribed)

5      ΛΟΣΛ

ΓΕΡΝ

ΚΟΜΝΕ

ΙΤΑΤΕ

ΑΕΑΡΣ

(Space for several lines, never inscribed.)

This seems to have been an Eteocretan inscription. The κομνε in l. 7 recalls ΑΤΑΡΚΟΜΝ in the second line of the third Eteocretan inscription from Praesos (*B.S.A.* x. 117). On the ending -μν- see a recent paper by Kannengiesser, *Aegäische, besonders kretische namen bei den Etruskern*, in *Klio*, xi. (1911), p. 36.

14. PRAESOS. Stele of soft white freestone, found in a ruined μετόχι on the East slope of the First Acropolis (Πρασοκέφαλο), below the main road. Ht. .665 m., breadth .31 m. Ht. of letters in lines 1-3, .04 m., in lines 4 and 5, .02 m. Rude pediment and acroteria above, tenon below. The inscription is on a panel .032 high.

ΑΙΜΙCΙΑ

ΖΩCΙΜΩ

ΤΩΠΑΤΗ

ΜΝΗΜΗΣ

5      ΧΑΡΥΝ

Ζωσίμω

τῷ πατρὶ

μνήμης

χάρυν.

When I first saw the stone I read ΑΙΜΙCΙΑ in the first line; since then the surface of the soft freestone has disintegrated, and the name is now illegible.

Now in the Candia Museum.

Compare similar inscriptions found near Ziro (Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* iii. p. 601, No. 31), Piskokephalo (*ib.* No. 32), and Sitia (*ib.* No. 33), all in the

same neighbourhood. *Zώσιμος* and *Zωσίμη* seem to have been common nouns in East Crete in Roman times (Halbherr, *l.c.* Nos. 49 and 96).

15. EPISKOPE, (a village distant half-an-hour to S.W. of the town of Sitia). In the house of a Moslem : stele of close-grained freestone '43 m. high, '05 thick, blackened with fire, and broken in two pieces, with inscription in a sunk panel '29 m. high and '31 wide. Shallow lettering, '025 high.

ΕΥΚΑΡΠΟΣ,  
ΚΩΝΙΤΩΠΑΙ  
ΔΙΩΜΝΗΜΗΣ  
ΧΑΡΙΝ

Εὐκαρπος Γ[λυ  
κωνι τῷ παί-  
διῳ μνήμης  
χάριν.

I bought the stele and placed it in the Candia Museum, where it bears the number 116.

16. ACHLADI, (a village one hour S.W. of Sitia). Seen in the cellar under the Demarcheion of Sitia. Stele of freestone, broken below, '46 m. high, '44 wide, '13 thick ; above is a large pediment, with a six-leaved rosette carved in the tympanum, and a column in low relief at either side of the inscribed surface. Letters '03 high.

ΚΑΛΟΠΟΥΣ  
ΣΩΣΙΒΙΩ

Καλοπούς  
Σωσιβίῳ  
[μνήμης  
χάριν]

R. C. BOSANQUET.

## A CLAY SEALING FROM EGYPT.

(PLATE XVII.)

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THE object illustrated in Plate XVII. and Fig. 1, would perhaps never have emerged from the obscurity of a description in small type in an official catalogue but for Mr. Dawkins' discovery discussed on pp. 9 f. of this volume. In the British Museum *Catalogue of Terracottas* (p. 443) it is described as follows, under the number E 93: 'Hemispherical seal of clay, with eight impressions of gems stamped over it, five representing a lion attacking a goat; another, a bearded head to r, with inscription; the other two are plain stamps.' It was acquired in Egypt by the Rev. Greville Chester, and purchased from him in 1891.

This description calls for some slight revision and fuller detail. The bearded head seems to be of Roman Imperial date, and the character of the letters which form the inscription narrows the period still more, to the second century after Christ. This inscription may be read as ΑΓΑΘΟΣ ΔΕΜΩΝ 'Αγαθὸς Δέμων (for Δαίμων), the deity alluded to being specially concerned with the providing of temporal blessings, and therefore appropriate in connection with a jar of wine. The style of the head, with its short close-cut beard, is such as we associate with the time of Pertinax, *i.e.* the end of the second century. The other impression, representing a lion attacking a goat, is probably from a seal of earlier date, and may be compared with the design on a terracotta plaque from Crete in the British Museum (*Cat. of Roman Pottery*, LI, with illustration), which is hardly later than the beginning of the Christian era. The subject is quite a popular one in Roman art, and the 'Corbridge lion' may be cited as another instance. This design is reproduced on an enlarged scale ( $\frac{3}{2}$ ) in Fig. 1.

The manner in which these sealings were used for stopping the mouths of wine-jars has been clearly explained by Mr. Dawkins (p. 10), and it is very remarkable that the form of this later example should so closely resemble that of the earlier. On the flat side of the Museum specimen are impressions of some cloth substance still visible, with fragments of the material adhering to the surface: and the method of fastening, something



FIG. 1.—IMPRESSION OF SEAL.

like that employed nowadays for securing bottles of effervescing liquids, is not only clearly marked by three deep incisions crossing the surface of the clay, but in two of these incisions the coarse string (corresponding to the modern wire) is still adhering, with the knot in which it was tied.

Thus we have a definite proof that the method of sealing wine-jars practised in Greece in the Mycenaean Age, was still in use in Egypt under the Roman Empire, after a lapse of some 1500 years.

H. B. WALTERS.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

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THE Annual Meeting of subscribers to the School was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 23rd, 1910, SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, Ex-Director of the School, presiding.

The Secretary of the School (Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOVRE) submitted the following report on behalf of the Managing Committee.

The Chairman of the Committee, in conjunction with the President of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and the Chairman of the Committee of the British School at Rome, had the honour on the occasion of the lamented death of H.M. King Edward, of presenting an address of condolence to H.M. King George. His Majesty has since been pleased to return a gracious answer.

The Committee have further the gratification to announce that His Majesty has recently been pleased to become Patron of the School.

**The Director.**—On the way to Athens at the beginning of the session, Mr. Dawkins paid a visit to the School at Rome, and early in December spent a week at Constantinople, where he saw Mr. George's work for the Byzantine Fund and the Russian excavations in Stamboul. At the beginning of March he went to Boeotia, where Mr. Steele of the Copais Company kindly shewed him the interesting prehistoric drainage works of Lake Copais, largely brought to light by the operations of the Company. He then went to Thessaly, where he visited the Volo Museum to see the results of Mr. Wace's excavations, and reported to the Byzantine Fund on a fine old church at Portes. Shortly after this he went to Crete for some three weeks with Mr. Newton, who had been engaged to make a survey of the country round Palaikastro, which has been found to be necessary for the publication of that site. The Director took this opportunity to travel in East Crete and also worked in the Candia Museum. Early in May he left Athens for Sparta. Before beginning the excavation, of which he was in charge throughout, he spent a week travelling in Mani in

order to obtain readings of the inscriptions published in vol. xv. of the *Annual* in Mr. Traquair's article on the churches of Mani. On June 21st he returned to Athens and at the end of the month left for Smyrna and Cappadocia. His travels in Asia Minor lasted until the end of August.

During the time spent at Athens he wrote his contributions to the *Annual* and completed his share of the editorial work in connection with it. He also wrote the paper on "Modern Greek in Asia Minor," which has appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. His other papers this year are "Archaeology in Greece" in the *Hellenic Journal* and "Excavations in Greece" and "Modern Greek" for *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, and the inscriptions in Mr. Traquair's paper on the Mani Churches. He has since received the thanks of the Treasury Committee on the Organisation of Oriental Studies in London, for assistance in preparing the Schedule on Modern Greek. He spoke at one of the open meetings of the school.

The Committee notice with pleasure the election of the Director to a Senior Fellowship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, for a further term of years. They learn, with a regret that will be shared by every member of the School who has been in Athens during Mr. Dawkins' tenure of office, that Miss Dawkins' health is such that it may be unwise for her to prolong her residence in Greece. By the School and the community she will be very greatly missed.

**The Students.**—Mr. Lionel B. Budden, B.A., Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool and holder of a grant from the School, spent three months in Greece between November and February. He made a detailed study of the Propylaea and of the recent reconstruction of the buildings on the Acropolis, and visited several ancient sites for the purpose of architectural study.

Mr. S. W. Grose, B.A., Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge, and holder of the School Studentship, spent over five months in Greece. His main work was the study of Sculpture to assist him in the task of revising the *Catalogue* of the Casts in the Fitzwilliam Museum. He also studied architectural drawing, attended Professor Doerpfeld's lectures both at Athens and in the provinces, and travelled extensively. On his return he visited the Museums of Naples, Rome, Florence, and Paris in connection with his work for the Fitzwilliam Museum Catalogue.

Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Assistant Director of the School, was granted a year's leave of absence, Mr. A. M. Woodward acting as his *locum tenens*. After preliminary study in France, Mr. Hasluck made an extensive tour in India. On his return he visited Jerusalem, and after working at Athens, returned to the scenes of his former labours in Asia Minor, where he found another Genoese relief in Chios and important coats of arms from the demolished castle of S. Peter at Smyrna. These arms, now built into the jail, date from about 1376 (when the castle was held by the Knights of Rhodes) and are of exceptional interest. They will, it is hoped, be removed to the Imperial Museum. From Smyrna he proceeded to Cyprus, where he spent nearly three weeks, visiting Larnaca,



Nicosia, Kyrenia, and Famagusta. Crossing to Mersina, he travelled by rail to Adana, and thence made his way overland to Samsun, *via* the Cilician Gates, Nigdeh, Caesarea (Mazaca), Sivas, Tokat, and Amasia, making excursions to Soghanlı Dere and Goreme for the rock-cut monuments. *Parerga* of this journey, undertaken with the general object of seeing country and monuments, were a series of photographs destined for the collections of the Hellenic Society, and the discovery at Caesarea of an important manufactory of "ancient" Greek coins which supplies the Smyrna (and eventually the European) market. From Samsun he embarked for Constantinople, whence he made a short excursion to Amasra (Amastris) with the object of investigating the Genoese remains. One inscription with heraldry, now used as the doorstep of a stable, has been reported to the Imperial Museum for removal, the rest, which are still *in situ*, drawn and photographed. In Constantinople he was employed photographing a selection of the best-known Byzantine monuments. The Aqueduct of Valens and Column of Marcian have been made accessible by recent fires, so that the conditions were exceptionally favourable.

Mr. H. H. Jewell, Royal Academy Gold Medallist, spent March and April at Athens and Constantinople studying Architecture and Sculpture. He also worked at Constantinople. He visited Paros and there made drawings of the important Church of the Panagia.

Mr. H. A. Ormerod, B.A., Queen's College, Oxford, came out to Athens with grants from the Craven Fund and his College. After preliminary study, he accompanied Messrs. Wace and Thompson on the protracted tours in Northern Greece described in their reports. He then went to work in the Museum at Candia under Professor Bosanquet, and visited Knossos, Isopata, and Mount Juktas. He then made a tour in the islands, visiting Paros, where he studied a little-known collection of prehistoric vases, Thera, and Tenos for the festival of the Panagia. After further work in Athens, Crete, and Delphi, he assisted at the excavations at Sparta, and made topographical studies in Laconia. He later, accompanied Mr. Woodward on the journey in Lycia and Pisidia described below.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Mr. M. S. Thompson, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, after two months' research in Athens undertook, with Mr. H. Ormerod, a series of extended journeys in Thessaly, collecting topographical and other data for a work on prehistoric N. Greece. In the course of these they visited the following sites:—Achino, Raches, Gardiki, Larissa Kremaste, Suvala, Glypha, Antron, Chamaku, Pteleon, Sourpi, the Monastery of the Xenia, the Kastro on the road from Platanos to Vrynena and Almyro. From Almyro they went westwards to Myloi, Genitzek, Marmara, Tsournati, Kileler, Kislár, Tjeutma, Tsaterli, Koklobashi, Orman Magoula, and thence by rail to Volo. From Volo they went to Dimini, Pagasae, Sesklo, and then to Larissa, *via* Pherae (Velesino), and thence passing Drusanades, to Tyrnavo and Elassona, returning *via* Kyretiae, Mylae, Malloea, and the Titaresios valley. Then going east from Tyrnavo they reached Purnari, Spelia, and went round Ossa (Kissavo) and on to Skiti, Polydendri, Keramidi, Alifaklar,

Voulgarini, Kastri, Plasia, Yerakari, Agyia and back to Larissa *via* Marmariani. Thence by road to Trikkala *via* Tsióti, and by rail up to Kalabaka. On their return they visited Portes, Phanari (the Homeric Ithome), and Karditza.

After another month spent at Athens, Mr. Wace and Mr. Thompson returned to Thessaly and carried on excavations on the prehistoric sites of Tsangli and Rachmani, and spent some time in the museum at Volo studying and mending the finds of these and previous excavations. While the main interest of their work lies in the prehistoric period, they made an interesting discovery bearing on the mythology of classical Greece. On Mount Ossa they found a cave of the Nymphs containing a quantity of inscriptions which have been published in vol. xv. of the *Annual* of the School. They were also present at several of the Thessalian carnivals at which were given singular dramatic exhibitions resembling those which Mr. Dawkins witnessed in Thrace. An account of these interesting survivals is to be published in vol. xvi. of the *Annual*.

Mr. A. M. Woodward, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford, Assistant Director, 1909-10, in Mr. Hasluck's absence, arrived in Athens on November 8th, and resided there continuously till February 14th, when he left for a short tour in Aetolia. Owing to the absence of the Director in Crete he was unable to take a continuous month's leave in the spring, and he made three other short journeys, to Thessaly, where he visited Messrs. Wace and Thompson at their excavation at Tsangli, and saw some ancient sites in the neighbourhood, to Constantinople, Troy, and Pergamon, for which he joined the cruise of the R.M.S. *Dunottar Castle*, and to Delphi. He was in residence at Athens during May, after which he left with Mr. Ormerod for Asia Minor to explore some prehistoric sites on the borders of Lycia and Pisidia which he had heard of, but was unable to visit when in Adalia the year before. For this journey he had a grant from the Craven Fund. In addition to noting about twenty prehistoric mounds, he visited the sites of Termessos, Isinda, Andeda, Poghla, Komama, Lagbe, Ormeleis, and Denizli, whence, after visiting Hierapolis, he returned by rail to Smyrna, and then *via* Constantinople to Athens and England.

During the winter and spring, in addition to his duties in connexion with the Hostel and Library, he worked in the Epigraphical Museum, paying especial attention to Attic Finance-inscriptions of the fifth century, in which he made some interesting discoveries. A paper containing a reconstruction of the Quota List of the year 427 B.C. has been published in Vol. xv. of the School *Annual*, and he has prepared other papers dealing with Attic treasure-records, and the building-records of the Parthenon and Propylaea, to all of which he has added new fragments. In addition to this he has published in the same number of the *Annual* a long paper on the inscriptions found at Sparta in 1909, embodying most of the results of his studies in the chronology and prosopography of Spartan inscriptions of the Imperial Age. He has also published an account of the new inscriptions found by Messrs. Wace and Thompson in Thessaly in the early part of the year. Mr. Woodward had the honour of representing the School, in the absence of the Director, at the Memorial Service at the English

Church on the day of the Funeral of His late Majesty Edward VII., Patron of the School.

The Managing Committee and the Director wish to record their sense of the zeal and efficiency which Mr. Woodward has shewn as Assistant Director throughout the Session.

Mr. A. E. Zimmern, late Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, was in Greek lands from the beginning of September, 1909 to the end of July, 1910, during the greater part of which time he was in residence at the School engaged on a general work upon Greek life. During the course of the year he made a number of expeditions in Attica, Central Greece, the Peloponnesus, Asia Minor, the Greek islands, and Crete. Whilst expressing his gratitude to the Committee for having elected him an Associate of the School, Mr. Zimmern would like to acknowledge his sense of the pleasantness and convenience of residence at the School for students of Ancient Greece who are not archaeologists. The Penrose and Finlay Libraries, together with the American Library close by and those of the other foreign schools—all of whom allow genuine students not only to use, but freely to take out their books—constitute a very full collection of works on all sides of Greek life, and their excellent arrangement and easy accessibility enable students to work with an immense economy of time and trouble.

**The Excavations.**—The season at Sparta was a short one this year, work being carried on for a month only in May and June. The Director was in charge, assisted by Messrs. Farrell and Ormerod, and Mr. Duke came for a short time. Mr. George again spared some time from his work for the Byzantine Fund at Salonika and Constantinople, and spent some four weeks continuing the series of drawings of the carved ivories. The more important of these have now been adequately photographed or drawn, but there remain a number of fragmentary pieces of some note which still require attention. The study and cleaning of these ivories has revealed a series of interesting designs, several being of recognisable mythological scenes, which are all the more important in view of their very early date, the seventh and eighth centuries.

Gregorios Antoniou of Larnaka again was spared from the work at Knossos to act as foreman. A short summary of the work of the season is added.

*The Eleusinion at Sochás.*—The German Archaeological Institute generously waived their claim to this site and the season was opened here. The site of the Eleusinion lies an hour and a half south of Sparta at the hamlet of Kalývia tes Sochás at the foot of Taÿgetos. Inscriptions had already been found on the site of the former church of Hagia Sophia in the village, and in an olive grove immediately above it, lead figurines and other small objects. The greater part of this area was cleared by a number of pits and trenches, and the view that here was the Eleusinion was amply confirmed. The deposit had, however, been very much disturbed, no walls were found and the objects were few, broken and scattered. The more important finds were tiles stamped with the name Demeter, a fragment of an inscription apparently containing rules for the sanctuary, and a few terracotta

figurines of the goddess. The lead wreaths and diminutive vases which seem inseparable from any Spartan shrine were also not lacking, but there was nothing to justify more than a week's work.

*The Menelaion.*—The further examination of the Mycenaean site found last year near the Menelaion, was the main purpose of this season's work. The whole elevated area to the south of the Menelaion, bounded on the west by the Eurotas and on the east by a lateral valley, has now been proved to be covered with the remains of Mycenaean houses. The extent of the settlement is such that it may fairly be called a city. Except by the Menelaion itself no Greek remains whatever were found on these hills, just as on the site of classical Sparta nothing Mycenaean has been found, and it is therefore plain that the earlier city was entirely destroyed, apparently by fire, and the classical Sparta refounded on another site. The Mycenaean city left its only trace in the situation of the cult of Menelaos. The houses were unfortunately so very much destroyed by erosion that nothing but the lowest courses of the walls remained, and in certain cases not even so much. The small finds were also very scanty. A curious female idol of terracotta on a round base with uplifted hands, like some found in Crete, is one of the more important. One house near the Menelaion was better preserved, and contained some painted vases and curious clay sealings for the mouths of wine jars, stamped with a signet ring and tied on with rushes.

*The Orthia Sanctuary.*—A further small portion of the foundation of the Roman amphitheatre was removed, and more house-walls, probably of the fifth century, were found, and with them a well, lined in a curious way with tiles. Two large marbles, which had been partly visible for some years, were dug out from their position in the Roman masonry, and proved to be the bases of statues of Βωμονῆκαι dating to late in the second century A.D. They had been used as packing in the foundation of the Roman amphitheatre. Previously only one such base had been known, and one of the two now found gives a new formula.

The Committee have recently authorised the preparation of a book dealing with the excavations at Sparta, the results of which at present are only accessible in a long series of *comptes rendus* in several volumes of the *Annual*. It is proposed to deal mainly with the Orthia sanctuary, but a sufficiency of material from the rest of the site will be included to make the work, what is so greatly needed, a definitive publication on Ancient Sparta.

*At Magoula.*—Near the hamlet of Magoula to the west of Sparta, a site was tried at which a few bronzes had previously been found in the sinking of a well. Whatever building may have stood there had entirely disappeared, but a few terracotta objects were found, and several tiles stamped with the word ΛΥΚΕΙΟΥ, which suggest a temple of Apollo Lykeios.

**Thessaly.**—The sites chosen by Messrs. Wace and Thompson for this year's work were Tsangli in central Thessaly between Pharsala and Velesino, and Rachmani halfway between Larissa and Tempe.

At Tsangli the work was much interrupted by bad weather, rain, and snow. The excavators sank several shafts from the top of the mound to virgin soil to test the stratification, and also on the east side cleared two small areas where they found the remains of Neolithic houses. The mound is about two hundred metres long and two hundred and ten wide, and the deposit in the highest part is about ten metres thick. The results of the stratification of the pottery will be described in connexion with that at Rachmani. The houses are interesting and one case occurs of three houses superimposed. They are square in plan and have as a rule two internal buttresses in each angle; all three belong to the latter part of the first Neolithic period, but the earliest house is slightly more primitive in plan and has only five internal buttresses instead of eight. The first two houses had been merely abandoned, but the third had been destroyed by fire, and in it several good vases were found, and twelve celts. In the second a store of over sixty terracotta sling-bullets was found. The third house had been destroyed by fire towards the end of the first Neolithic period and was never afterwards rebuilt. This house was larger than the others and divided across the middle by a row of wooden posts: it had eight internal buttresses, two in each angle, and a door in the middle of the south wall. A large number of vases were found in this house, many celts, and some interesting terracotta statuettes. In general the excavation was very rich in stone implements; about seventy celts, including some very good examples, came to light. Also between twenty and thirty good terracotta statuettes were discovered; of these the male figures, which are rare in Thessaly, are remarkable for their phallic character, and the female figures for the marked steatopygy.

At Rachmani the mound is about 112 metres long and 95 wide, and the deposit is 8 metres thick. A careful observation of the stratification of the shafts sunk in this mound and a comparison of it with the results from Tsangli and other sites, make it possible to divide the prehistoric remains of Thessaly into four periods: *I. Neolithic*, marked by the occurrence of red-on-white painted pottery; *II. Neolithic*, marked by the presence of Dimini and kindred wares; *III. Sub-Neolithic*. In this period falls the remarkable encrusted ware, but while stone tools are common, no trace of bronze has yet been found in deposits of this period. *IV. Chalcolithic*. In this period the pottery is unpainted, and the latter part of it is contemporaneous apparently with late Minoan II and III, for to it belong the tombs of Sesklo, Dimini, and Zerelia, and the L. M. III, and Minyan ware found at these and other sites.

Mr. Wace and his fellow-workers now propose to close their excavations in Thessaly for the time being and to publish a book on the subject, which is now in active preparation. Later next season they hope to excavate a prehistoric site in Macedonia, and to resume their exploration of that country, making a special study of the prehistoric remains. They also intend to take this opportunity of making further investigation in the problems of Vlach ethnology.

**Crete.**—During recent years it has been difficult to arrange for the carrying on of the work entailed by the excavations in Crete, which lasted from 1900 to

1906. The finds were temporarily stored in the old Turkish barracks, which soon became overcrowded. In 1907 the chief exhibits were transferred to a new museum, and in the following spring Professor Bosanquet went out to Candia and arranged the finds from the British School excavations. But a great mass of antiquities remained in the damp cellars of the old barracks. The new museum has recently been enlarged and the provision of a large and well-lighted work-room has made it possible to continue the work. This spring Professor and Mrs. Bosanquet spent the months of March and April in Crete, and at the request of Dr. Hatzidakis superintended the transfer of these accumulations to more suitable quarters. Mr. Ormerod gave valuable help during his stay at Candia. The vase-fragments from Palaikastro and Zakro were classified and arranged in drawers: much material that had hitherto escaped attention was cleaned: some important vases were put together and a large number of drawings and photographs were made, which will appear in the book on Palaikastro. Professor Bosanquet also made a tour round the eastern half of the Island and discovered two new Minoan sites on the South coast, which he hopes to examine at some future time. He joined Mr. Newton towards the end of his stay at Palaikastro and revised the map of the district. It is satisfactory to know that since the punishment of two offenders in 1908, the Minoan houses at Roussolakkos have ceased to be used as a quarry.

**Open Meetings.**—The following communications were presented at two open meetings held at the School.—

Dec. 17, 1909.—The Director: The Year's Work of the School.

Mr. M. S. Thompson: The early history of Sparta in the light of recent discoveries.

Feb. 25, 1910.—Mr. M. S. Thompson: Excavations at Lianokladi.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace: Excavations at the Menelaion at Sparta.

A lecture was also delivered by Professor Knight of the University of St. Andrews, on 'Ruskin as a Moralist and Teacher of Art.'

**The Library.**—In all 203 works have been added to the Library in the course of the session, the number being made up of 70 substantive publications, 97 pamphlets, and 36 works in continuation. Provision will be made shortly for the growth of the Library by additional bookshelves. Good progress has been made in the matter of completing sets of periodical publications hitherto defective. The topographical portion of the subject catalogue has been extended. The collection of lantern slides presented by Miss Hutton has been largely supplemented and is in process of rearrangement.

The thanks of the School are due to the following public bodies for gifts of publications:—H.M. Government of India for the Indian Archaeological Surveys; The French Government for generously presenting the newly begun publication of Delos, in addition to that of Delphi, and also the expensive works on Mistra and Selinus; Trustees of B.M. (for Parthenon publication); University Presses of

Oxford and Cambridge ; Institute of Catalan Studies, Barcelona ; Ny Carlsberg Museum Exploration Fund, Copenhagen.

The following authors have kindly presented copies of their works :—Dr. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, Mr. C. D. Cobham, Professor M. Crispis, M. S. N. Dragoumis (ex-Premier of Greece), Dr. S. Eitrem, M. J. Gennadius, Prof. G. N. Hatzidakis, Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Hawes, M. I. P. Kardamati, Dr. G. Karo, Dr. P. Kavvadias, Prof. L. Milani, Dr. M. Nilsson, Mr. T. E. Peet, Prof. L. Pigorini, M. K. N. Rados, M. O. A. Rhousopoulos, M. K. N. Rovolopoulos, Don Antonio Rubio Y Lluch, Dr. Hans Schrader, M. V. Stais, Prof. G. E. Streit, Prof. J. N. Svoronos, M. F. Versakis, Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Prof. A. Wilhelm, Dr. P. Wolters, and Mr. A. M. Woodward.

Among Donors of Miscellaneous Works are :—Mr. A. M. Daniel, Mr. W. B. Dukes, Mr. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. G. A. Macmillan, Miss Moore (a valuable collection of pamphlets dealing with Antiquities at Carthage), Mr. M. S. Thompson, and the Director.

**Acknowledgments.**—Acknowledgment has been made in the course of this Report to many kind helpers, and the Managing Committee take this opportunity of recording their thanks for other support accorded in various ways to the school, to the following :—to Sir Francis Eliot, K.C.M.G., H.M. Minister at Athens, for his never failing care for the interests of the school ; to the Greek Authorities at the Ministry of Higher Education and to their local representatives, for their ready help and constant support : to Dr. Stais, Director of the National Museum, and to Dr. Svoronos, Director of the Numismatic Museum at Athens, for many facilities and much help ; to the Consular Authorities at Constantinople and Salonika, for their support of Mr. George in his work for the Byzantine Fund, and of Messrs. Wace and Thompson in their journeys in Macedonia ; to Mr. Steele, the Managing Director of the Lake Copais Company, for hospitality shewn to the director ; and to many friends, for help and hospitality kindly accorded to members of the school travelling in Crete, Thessaly, Macedonia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, and elsewhere.

A marked expression of the School's gratitude is due to Miss C. A. Hutton and her advisers Sir Cecil Smith, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, and Mr. M. N. Tod for editing the *Annual*. The fifteenth volume recently issued is one of the most attractive of the School's publications.

The Committee wish to record their sense of the loss sustained by science in the death of Dr. Ludwig Mond, who was for many years a munificent subscriber to the School.

**Future Plans.**—The excavations at Sparta having been brought to a successful close the Committee and the Director have had to consider a fresh field for the activities of the School. At the end of this session Mr. Dawkins will have a year's leave of absence on family affairs. It therefore behoves the School to take

up some piece of work which can be accomplished within the year, and does not require time-taking negotiations for a *firman*. After prolonged consideration the Committee have decided on an excavation at Phylakopi, supplementary to those so successfully carried out by members of the School in 1896 and published in the fourth Supplementary Paper of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. Part of this interesting island-site was then purposely left untouched, with a view to its further investigation when time should have thrown more light on the vexed questions of early Aegean civilization. Light there has been in abundance of recent years from Crete and Northern Greece, and the Committee feel that the time has now come when this excavation should no longer be postponed. The site is reasonably near Greece, and it should not prove an expensive excavation considering the importance and interest of the results expected. For the present the Committee have allocated £300 for the purpose.

In the meantime the Director will make a tour of investigation with a view to securing an important site thereafter. It is not considered politic at present to enter on these subsequent plans in detail.

**Finance.**—The Revenue Account for the year shows a debit balance of £8 8s. 3d. as compared with a similar balance of £289 7s. 1d. for the preceding year. The apparent improvement is due to the smaller outlay on excavations during the year. The total amount of Annual Subscriptions is £853 19s. 0d. as compared with £935 15s. 0d. for the preceding year. The serious and regrettable decline in these receipts is due to the death of two large subscribers, who, between them, contributed £110 annually to our funds. It is hoped that earnest efforts will be made by all friends of the School during the coming year to bring our list again up to a level of over £900. The cost of the publication of the Annual is somewhat less, and the sales again show a satisfactory increase.

In moving the adoption of the Report Sir CECIL SMITH said :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—When the Committee of the British School at Athens did me the honour to invite me to take the Chair on this occasion, I set myself to look for an explanation of their action, which I felt sure must be more in accordance with the wisdom of their ordinary counsels than was at first sight apparent. Such an explanation appeared to be the more necessary when I reviewed the long list of eminent men who have in former years graced the position, and it seemed to me that the solution probably lay in the fact that this year of grace 1910 marks an epoch in the age of the British School at Athens. It was, I believe, in February twenty-five years ago that the inception of this undertaking first took shape. I understand that the actual official twenty-fifth birthday of opening the School will be celebrated in October 1911. But this seems a not unsuitable occasion to look back for a moment at the past quarter of a century, to take stock of the past, and to see wherein it offers counsel for the future : and possibly it was not inappropriate to associate with this review one, who having been long and closely concerned with



classical archaeology and to some extent also with the School at Athens, is now owing to circumstances, occupying a post of vantage, or it may be disadvantage, from which a more or less impartial purview may be obtained.

In reviewing these twenty-five years it is interesting and inspiring to trace how admirably the aims of the first originators of the scheme have been steadily kept in view. The lines marked out for it were from the outset broad enough and liberal enough not only to admit of, but to encourage expansion, and those of us who were among this number, especially our Chairman of Committee Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Leaf, must feel legitimate pride in seeing the healthy manhood of the child which they saw come into being.

In any such reflections, there must naturally be an element of sadness: this is not the place to speak of all those friends of the school who have passed away, but there is one personage whom I am sure will be in all your minds this afternoon in this connection, and that is His Majesty King Edward the Seventh. You all know that it was largely due to the interest which he, as Prince of Wales, took in the scheme, and the encouragement which he gave to it, that the School was originally founded. At a later stage, in 1895, he showed his continued practical interest in it by presiding at a public meeting held at Marlborough House. He has given frequent proofs of a continuous gracious interest in our Institution, and in him we have had to deplore the loss of the School's most valued patron and friend. It is a matter on which the Committee are greatly to be congratulated that they have secured the name of His present Majesty King George as patron; I think we are justified in regarding this as an assurance that the royal interest in the School will still continue.

In looking back on past Annual Meetings, I find there is one topic which is almost monotonous in the regularity of its occurrence, and that is the topic of finance. Reviewed from a distance of twenty-five years, it certainly seems a surprisingly bold venture that this work should have been undertaken with so little real certainty of financial support as was then forthcoming, and it says much for the stout hearts of the authors of our being, that they were able cheerfully to undertake the inception of such a scheme on what may have been thought a somewhat risky speculation. Speaker after speaker recalls the fact that we alone of the European Institutions of Athens were without Government support, until in 1894 by way, presumably,—if I may mix metaphors,—of throwing a sop to the importunate widow, the Prime Minister was induced to give £200 from the Royal Bounty Fund. Nowadays, and for some time past, the School has been in receipt of a Treasury Subsidy, which, if it is not so much as England might reasonably provide, is welcomed as being a substantial recognition of Government interest in our work.

The original intention of the founders of the School was to provide an Institution at Athens which should enable students from English Universities and other Institutions, to study on the spot classical archaeology in all its phases, to provide a centre similar to that existing in connection with other nations, at which the language, literature, history and art of Greece might be studied in the light of modern archaeology; and to enable British archaeologists to take their own part

both by study and by excavation, in the great work of extending the bounds of our knowledge of all that was best in the life of the classic past. Gentlemen, I think we may say with confidence that these aims have been amply fulfilled. To anyone who may doubt this, I would recommend him to consult the list of the students who have been members of the School. The standard of school requirement in those admitted to the privilege of membership has been high, and from beginning to end it has, I think, in spite of all obstacles, been admirably maintained. It would, I think, be difficult to find a list of names connected with any similar Institution, in which so high a standard both of qualification and achievement has been so consistently maintained, as that of the British School at Athens.

One can afford nowadays to smile at the suggestion which was seriously put forward at an early period in the history of the School by a well-wisher, that in place of the central establishment at Athens, it would be better if the funds could be devoted to providing a peripatetic yacht for its accommodation. The School with its buildings, its equipment, and, more than all perhaps, the admirable libraries associated with the names of Finlay and Penrose, worthily takes its place among the similar Institutions at Athens: and if, as some think, activity is to be judged by output, we may point with pride to the stout volume which appears every year as the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.

I think that anyone who looks closely at the Committee's Report will be struck with the extraordinarily wide range which is covered by the activities of the School. It is true that for the moment there is no startling discovery to record, but perhaps that is not altogether to be regretted. For some years past we have been living in this respect in a condition of what seems unnatural excitement. The almost incredible revelations of Mr. Arthur Evans and other scholars in Crete, were followed more recently by the School triumphs at Sparta, and it is good for no one to live in the constant expectation of excitements. Moreover, some breathing space is needed for full digestion and publication of material. In some ways, I think it would be a good plan if it were possible to have a "close time" as regards excavation, provided only that in the less civilised countries there could equally be arranged a "close time" in regard to that destruction of remains which is unfortunately always going on.

During the past year the useful work of the School has covered the pre-historic, the classic, the Byzantine, and the modern periods, not only of Greece proper, but of the wider Hellenic world. Could one wish for a wider field than that? No more striking example could perhaps be given of this wideness of range and of the continuity of Greek life which has properly been the subject of more than one discourse from this Chair, than the record in the Report of one student's work. I note that Mr. Ormerod combined a visit to Paros for the study of pre-historic vases with a visit to Tenos for the Festival of the Panagia; that after all is Greece, and that is also the British School. As Lord Bute once said here, "the object of the existence of the Archaeological Schools at Athens is to take of the life of Greece wherewith to quicken and ennoble other life, and not of the life of Greece alone." Those who wish to understand what classical archaeology and art have to teach

must surely realise that it is essential that Greek art should not be regarded from an isolated standpoint.

It is not my intention to break a lance here in the contest which rages around the questions as to the independent value of Roman art : questions which are for us, personified largely in the names of the two protagonists of the *melée*, Wickhoff and Strzygowski ; in my view the time is not yet ripe for a decisive judgment as to whether Christian and mediaeval art owe their development mainly to Hellenism and the Orient : for my own part I wish merely to register my conviction that Rome was not, could not have been, merely the uncreative receiving-house of impressions which originated elsewhere, and the last refuge of decadent Hellenism. Whether it be that Greek art took fresh root in Rome under the Caesars, or was grafted upon a hardy native stock, is a problem which, in my opinion, will not be settled until we have much more material from excavation and exploration in the nearer East. So long as Antioch and Seleukia remain unexcavated, the essential link in the chain connecting the Hellenistic and the Augustan periods is wanting, and all theorising must be in some sense speculative. Meanwhile, I think we are beginning to realise that the comparative isolation of Greek studies and the exclusion of Rome has a harmful tendency : it is antagonistic not only to the best interests of Greek studies, but also to the right comprehension of mediaeval and modern art. My own personal experience (if I may be allowed to speak personally) has some bearing on this : my training has been throughout along the old Hellenic lines : and for all general purposes, for the soundest and truest grounding in the principles and appreciation of art, I still believe that nothing better or more useful can be found : I will even go further and say that every student of the Renaissance should have some training in Greek art : but that does not prevent my seeing that the gap which lies between the present and the Hellenistic age can only be bridged in Rome : it is there that the bridge must be built which is to establish the true continuity of development, unless the history of art is to be a chain of isolated phenomena.

And that is why I am glad to think that there is a fair prospect of alliance between the School at Athens and her younger sister of Rome : and I am glad to see from the Report that the first item in our Director's very varied activities, was a visit to the School at Rome.

I rejoice to see evidence of the School's progress in this direction, for progress is the life of institutions. Doubtless it is true that our sphere of usefulness is to some extent handicapped by the limitation of its financial means. I am not sure, however, whether the remedy lies in an increased Government Grant : whether it would be an unmixed blessing for us to depend more largely on Royal bounty or Treasury bounty. At the first of our Annual Meetings my old master and friend Sir Charles Newton speaking of the appeal for subscriptions, quoted Lucian's witticism about the statues of the gods holding out their right hand because they expected their votaries to give. The fact must be faced, that we depend to a large extent on the individual ; there is something to my mind stimulating in payment by results, for that is what it comes to. I must confess to being an individualist :

individual effort has been the mainspring of English freedom and English history ; and nowhere is this more clearly shewn than in the early stages of English archaeology. We must appeal then to the individual : and this brings me to the real kernel of what I would say. It is incumbent on us to make our work attractive to the wider public. In the earlier days, when archaeology was in a sense on its trial, it was the function of the archaeologist to hew out as it were, the raw material and generally to leave it to others for popular treatment. Archaeology has now won its place as an exact science, and may surely afford to unbend a little. Let us, moreover, remember that the public to whom we now appeal, is both larger and more receptive, and probably more generally cultivated than that of twenty-five years ago. I ask with all respect whether most of us here have not at one time or another felt that a little more art and a little less archaeology would be a pleasant change. After all, the great masters of Science, Huxley and Tyndall, were not above an occasional descent (if descent it be) to the more popular level. I must confess that I have sometimes wondered, at these meetings where quite admirable scientific papers were read, whether in coming to praise Caesar, we did not come perilously near burying him. Let me give one illustration of what the scientific method may become : suppose the Grecian Urn had been bought by—let us say—the Museum of Berlin : to the poet's eye it is :—

"Thou still unravished bride of quietness,  
Thou foster child of Silence and slow Time  
. . . . . with brede  
Of marble men and maidens overwrought  
With forest branches and the trodden weed."

How would the scientific archaeologist describe it? "Marble vase (Krater). Much chipped: obverse, man pursuing woman; reverse, sacrificial scene."

Well, these perhaps are the two extremes : we do not always want a Keats to do our Museum catalogues, nor is it essential (however desirable it might be) that our poets should have been at the School at Athens. But we may I think legitimately ask of the countrymen of Walter Pater that they should relax (where it can with decency be done) the austere repression of their emotions : that their writings may at least cheer if they do not inebriate. The students of the School can look from their windows past the violet foothills of Hymettos over the blue Saronic Gulf to Ægina : should not that privilege, enjoyed day by day through an Athenian Spring, inspire them, and through them us, to maintain the balance just between the useful and the beautiful?

I have much pleasure in moving the adoption of the Report.

The adoption of the Report was seconded by Mr. GENNADIUS, the Greek Minister in London, and having been put to the Meeting was carried unanimously.

The Director (Mr. R. M. DAWKINS) gave an account of the work of the School during the past session.

Prof. ERNEST GARDNER, Mr. TOD, and Dr. WALDSTEIN were re-elected, and Mr. A. J. B. WACE was elected on the Committee.

After votes of thanks to the auditors a vote of thanks to SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH for presiding, moved by LORD CROMER, was carried by acclamation.

1909-1910.

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<sup>1</sup> \* Before a name signifies "deceased."<sup>2</sup> This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

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- E. E. Sikes. M.A. Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
- J. G. Milne. M.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
- H. Stuart Jones. M.A. Fellow and formerly Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford. Formerly Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
- Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong). Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. Formerly Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
- F. Brayne Baker. M.A. Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
- C. C. Inge. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Vicar of Holmwood, Surrey. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. F. Benson. M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge: 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
- J. G. Piddington. B.A. (J. G. Smith) Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
- V. W. Yorke. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.
- J. L. Myres. M.A. Wykeham Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford. Formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Student and Tutor of Christ Church. University Lecturer in Classical Archaeology. Gladstone Professor of Greek in the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.

- R. J. G. Mayor. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Secretary in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892-93.
- R. C. Bosanquet. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899-1900. Director 1900-1906. Admitted 1892-93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894-95. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895-96 and 1896-97.
- J. M. Cheetham, M.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892-93.
- E. R. Bevan. M.A. New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893-94.
- A. F. Findlay. M.A. Sent out as holder of Browne-Downie Fellowship by the United Presbyterian Church, Divinity Hall, Edinburgh. Admitted 1894-95.
- J. G. Duncan. M.A., B.D. Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894-95.
- J. E. Brooks. M.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894-95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896-97.
- \*H. Awdry. M.A. New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894-95.
- Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna) Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Director of the Palestine Exploration Fund. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895-96. Re-admitted 1896-97. 1897-98 and 1898-99.
- Archibald Paterson. University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895-96.
- C. R. Rowland Clark. Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895-96, and re-appointed 1896-97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
- C. C. Edgar. B.A. Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895-96, and re-admitted 1896-97 as Craven University Fellow. 1897-98 and 1898-99.
- F. R. Earp. M.A. Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896-97.
- \*F. A. C. Morrison. M.A. Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted as Prendergast Greek Student 1896-97.
- H. H. West. M.A. Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896-97.
- Miss C. A. Hutton. Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896-97.
- Pieter Rodeck. Architect, Cairo. Admitted 1896-97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
- J. G. C. Anderson. M.A. Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and sometime Senior Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted as Craven University Fellow 1896-97.
- J. W. Crowfoot. M.A. Brasenose College, Oxford. Inspector in the Ministry of Education, Cairo. Formerly Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896-97. Re-admitted 1897-98.
- W. W. Reid. Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896-97.

- A. E. Henderson. F.S.A. Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, R.B.A. 1897-98. Admitted 1897-98. Re-admitted 1898-99, 1901-02, and 1902-03.
- W. A. Curtis. Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897-98.
- A. J. Spilsbury. M.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Senior Classical Master, City of London School. Admitted 1897-98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
- E. B. Hoare. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897-98. as Architectural Student.
- J. C. Lawson. M.A. Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898-99. Re-admitted 1899-1900.
- C. D. Edmonds. M.A. Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898-99.
- J. H. Marshall. C.I.E., M.A., F.S.A. Scholar of King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898-99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900-01, Craven Student, 1901-2.
- \*Clement Gutch. M.A. King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898-99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
- F. B. Welch. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Second Master at Pocklington School. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898-99. Re-admitted 1899-1900.
- T. D. Atkinson. F.R.I.B.A. Surveyor to the Dean and Chapter of Ely. Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898-99.
- J. K. Fotheringham. M.A., D.Litt. Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Lecturer in Ancient History at King's College, London. Examiner in the University of London; Brassey Research Student. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898-99.
- J. H. Hopkinson. M.A. University College, Oxford. Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Birmingham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899-1900 and 1900-01.
- S. C. Kaines-Smith. Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899-1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
- Miss O. C. Kohler (Mrs. Charles Smith). Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899-1900.
- D. Theodore Fyfe. F.R.I.B.A. Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899-1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
- K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S. Brasenose College, Oxford. Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Formerly Lecturer in Classics at Isleworth. Officer of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1904-05. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900-01.
- R. D. Wells. M.A., A.R.I.B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900-01.

- J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A. Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. Admitted 1900-01. Readmitted 1906-7, 1907-8.
- Marcus N. Tod. M.A. Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902-1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship." 1901-02.
- F. W. Hasluck. M.A. Sometime Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School from 1906. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901-02. Re-admitted 1902-03, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-9, 1909-10, 1910-11.
- C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901-02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
- Miss H. L. Lorimer. Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901-02.
- Baroness E. Rosenorn-Lehn. Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901-02.
- A. P. Oppé. B.A. New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Formerly Lecturer in Greek at St Andrews University, and Lecturer in Ancient History at Edinburgh University. Admitted 1901-02.
- W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902-03.
- C. T. Currelly. M.A., F.R.G.S. Victoria College, Toronto. Director of the Royal Museum, Ontario. Formerly Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902-03. Re-admitted 1903-04.
- R. McG. Dawkins. M.A. Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School from 1906. Admitted 1902-03. Re-admitted as Craven Student, 1903-04. Re-admitted 1904-05.
- E. S. Forster. M.A., F.S.A. Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Greek in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902-03. Re-admitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
- A. J. B. Wace. M.A. Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, 1905. Admitted 1902-03. Re-admitted 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- E. W. Webster. M.A. Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902-03.
- J. F. Fulton. Soane Student. Admitted 1902-03.
- E. F. Reynolds. Admitted 1902-03.
- M. O. B. Caspari. B.A. Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Reader in Ancient History in the University of London. Admitted 1903-04.

- J. L. Stokes. B.A. Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-04.
- Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel). Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Studentship. Admitted 1903-04.
- G. Dickins. M.A. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904-05. Re-admitted as School Student, 1905-06, 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- C. C. T. Doll. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Superintending Architect at the excavations at Knossos since 1905. Admitted 1904-05.
- C. H. Hawes. M.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Dartmouth College, U.S.A. Admitted 1904-05.
- W. A. Kirkwood. M.A. University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904-05.
- H. J. W. Tillyard. M.A. Caius College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904-05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905-06 on appointment to Studentship, 1906-07, 1908-09.
- Miss G. M. A. Richter. M.A. Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904-05.
- J. P. Droop. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905-06. Prendergast Student 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- Miss M. Hamilton. M.A. D.Litt. (Mrs. G. Dickins). University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Fellowship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905-06, 1906-07.
- A. C. B. Brown. B.A. Scholar of New College, Oxford. Fereday Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905-06.
- F. Orr. Admitted 1905-06.
- R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A. Admitted 1905-06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Lecturer on Architecture to the Edinburgh College of Art. Student of the Byzantine Fund.
- Miss E. B. Abrahams. M.A. University College, London. Admitted 1905-06.
- J. Farrell. M.A. Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- Walter S. George. Travelling Student in Architecture of the Royal College of Art. Soane Medallist of Royal Institute of British Architects. Admitted 1906-07. Re-admitted 1908-9, 1909-10, as Student of the Byzantine Research Fund.
- T. E. Peet. B.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted as Craven Fellow 1906-07, 1908-09.
- A. M. Woodward. M.A. Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Assistant Director, 1909-10. Admitted 1906-7, 1907-08, 1908-09.
- W. M. Calder. B.A. Christ Church, Oxford. Formerly Wilson Travelling Fellow, Aberdeen University. Research Student Brasenose College, Oxford. Admitted 1907-08.
- W. Harvey. Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907-08.
- H. Pirie-Gordon. M.A. Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907-08.



- M. S. Thompson. B.A. Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham University Scholarship. Admitted 1907-08, 1908-09
- A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907-08
- N. Whatley. M.A. Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907-08.
- G. L. Cheesman. M.A. Fellow and Lecturer of New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908-09.
- A. W. Gomme. B.A. Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Liverpool University. Prendergast Student. Admitted 1908-09
- L. B. Budden. B.A. Travelling Student in Architecture of the University of Liverpool. Admitted 1909-10
- S. W. Grose. B.A. Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. School Student. Admitted 1909-10.
- H. A. Ormerod. B.A. Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1909-10.
- H. H. Jewell. Royal Academy Gold Medallist. Admitted 1909-10.

## ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	„	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	„	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	„	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	„	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	„	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	„	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	„	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	„	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	„	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	„	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	„	1906.
A. E. Zimmern, Esq.	„	1910.

### SUGGESTED PLAN OF STUDY.

Under an ideal system a student would spend two or three seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year the student, while not losing sight of his special subject, might apportion his time thus :—

*August and September.*—Learn German in Berlin, Munich, or Dresden, and thus be able to profit by the three or four courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of the German and Austrian Institutes in Athens. For archaeological literature some knowledge of German is practically essential.

*October.*—Arrive in Greece. Acquire if possible some use of Modern Greek. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Argive Heraion, before the November rains.

*November (middle).*—Remain three or four months in Athens steadily working at sites and in Museums, attending courses of lectures and making frequent short excursions to points of interest by train, cycle, etc.

*March and April.*—Travel, study sites, join one of the Island cruises for students.

*May and June.*—Begin to concentrate on special work, *e.g.* assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control in the second summer,

*or* explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or a group of islands,

*or* work in museums in Italy, Austria, or Germany,

*or* attend lectures in Pompeii and spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In this case the student is advised to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), in order that he may be admitted to the Library, and have the right to attend the lectures (see rules of the School).

*The second year* should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified to suit each case. There will always be students who are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. There will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life in order to illuminate their reading and fit themselves for general classical teaching, although they have not time for minute archaeological study.

# RULES AND REGULATIONS

## OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

### OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

### THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

### THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

### THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months: but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

#### HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following:—

- (1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.
- (2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.
- (3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

#### THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI, and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXIX. (a) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (b) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like: such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

*Revised, 1908.*

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1910—1911.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, Esq., LL.D.	} Trustees.
WALTER LEAF, Esq., Litt.D.	
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, Esq., D.Litt., <i>Chairman.</i>	
PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D.	} Appointed by the Subscribers
SIR J. E. SANDYS, Litt.D.	
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D.	
PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A.	
SIR ARTHUR J. EVANS, D.Litt., LL.D.	
THEODORE FYFE, Esq., F.R.I.B.A.	
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, M.A.	
D. G. HOGARTH, Esq., M.A.	
MISS C. A. HUTTON.	
R. J. G. MAYOR, Esq., M.A.	
PROFESSOR J. LYNTON MYRES, M.A.	
SIR CECIL HARCOURT-SMITH, LL.D.	
M. N. TOD, Esq., M.A.	
A. J. B. WACE, Esq.	
L. WHIBLEY, Esq.	
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSLEIGH, Litt.D.	
V. W. YORKE, Esq., M.A., <i>Hon. Treasurer</i> , The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.	
JOHN H. BAKER-PENYOYE, Esq., M.A., <i>Secretary</i> , 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.	

DIRECTOR, 1910—1911.

R. M. DAWKINS, Esq., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge  
*Assistant Director.*—F. W. HASLUCK, Esq., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

## NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

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CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

### ANCIENT GREEK.

#### *Vowels.*

$\left. \begin{array}{l} a = \alpha : \\ \epsilon = e : \\ \eta = \eta : \end{array} \right\} \text{krater, lekane.}$

$i = i :$  kalpis.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} o = o : \\ \omega = \omega : \end{array} \right\} \text{kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.}$

$u = y$  after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix ;  $u$  after another vowel, as boule.

$ai = ai :$  Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.

$ei = ei :$  Meidias.

$oi = oi :$  Chalkioikos.

$ui = ui :$  muia.

$au = au :$  Aulis.

$eu = eu :$  Eutychos.

$ou = ou :$  boule.

#### *Consonants.*

$\beta = b ; \gamma = g ; \delta = d ; \zeta = z ; \theta = th ; \kappa = k^1 ; \lambda = l ; \mu = m ; \nu = n ; \xi = x ;$   
 $\pi = p ; \rho = r ; \sigma, s = s ; \tau = t ; \phi = ph ; \chi = ch ; \psi = ps ; \gamma\gamma = ng ; \gamma\kappa = nk ;$   
 $\gamma\chi = nch ; \rho = rh.$

<sup>1</sup>  $\kappa$  never =  $c$  except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

*Accents.*

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.<sup>1</sup>*Vowels.*

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} a = \alpha : \\ \epsilon = \epsilon : \\ \eta = \epsilon : \\ \iota = i : \end{array} \right\} \text{Πέντε Πηγάδια} = \text{Pénte Pegádia.}$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \circ = o : \\ \omega = o : \end{array} \right\} \text{Γεώργιος} = \text{Geórgios.}$$

$\nu = \gamma :$  Μολάοι = Moláoi. But for *av*, *ev*, *ou* see below.

$\alpha\iota = \alpha i :$  Καισαριανή = Kaisariané.

$\epsilon\iota = \epsilon i :$  Ἁγία Εἰρήνη = Hagía Eiréne.

$\omicron\iota = \omicron i :$  Μύλοι = Mýloi.

$\upsilon\iota = \upsilon i :$  Ψυχουῖός = psychoyíos.

$\omicron\upsilon = \omicron u :$  Σκριποῦ = Skripoú.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} av \\ ev \end{array} \right\} = af \text{ and } ef \text{ before unvoiced consonants } (\theta, \kappa (\xi, \psi), \pi, \varsigma, \tau, \phi, \chi \text{ and } \alpha\tau', \epsilon\upsilon \text{ before vowels and voiced consonants: } \text{Εὐθύμιος} = \text{Efthýmios; } \text{Λάυρα} = \text{Lávra.}$

*Consonants.*

$\beta = v ; \gamma = g$ , but  $\gamma\gamma, \gamma\kappa$  and  $\gamma\chi$  as *ng, nk* and *nch*;  $\delta = d$ ;  $\zeta = z$ ;  $\theta = th$ ;  $\kappa = k$ ;  $\lambda = l$ ;  $\mu = m$ ;  $\nu = n$ ;  $\xi = x$ ;  $\pi = p$ ;  $\rho = r$ ;  $\rho\rho = rrh$ ;  $\acute{\rho} = rh$ ;  $\sigma, \varsigma = s$ ;  $\tau = t$ ;  $\phi, \chi, \psi = ph, ch, ps$ .

The rough breathing to be written h: Ἁγίος Γεώργιος = H. Geórgios.

*Accents.*

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

<sup>1</sup> The arguments in support of this system will be found in Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.* vol. xv.



## ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

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[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VOL. XXIX, PART II., 1909.  
PP. LXXXVII-IX.]

*Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.*

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903. p. 34.

or—

Six, *Protopogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 123.

*Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.*

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

*I.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.

*Ann. d. I.* = Annali dell' Istituto.

*Arch. Anz.* = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).

*Arch. Zeit.* = Archäologische Zeitung.

*Mit. Mitt.* = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.

Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.

*B. C. H.* = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

- Berl. Vas.* = Furtwangler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.  
*B.M. Bronzes* = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.  
*B.M.C.* = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.  
*B.M. Rings* = British Museum Catalogue of Finger-Rings.  
*B.M. Inscr.* = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.  
*B.M. Jewellery* = British Museum Catalogue of Jewellery.  
*B.M. Sculpt.* = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.  
*B.M. Terracottas* = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.  
*B.M. Vases* = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.  
*B.S.A.* = Annual of the British School at Athens.  
*B.S.R.* = Papers of the British School at Rome.  
*Bull. d. I.* = Bullettino dell' Instituto.  
*Busolt* = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.  
*C.I.G.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*C.I.L.* = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.  
*Cl. Rev.* = Classical Review.  
*C.R. Acad. Inscr.* = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.  
*C.R. St. Pétr.* = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.  
*Dar.-Sagl.* = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.  
*Dittenb. O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.  
*Dittenb. Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.  
*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* = Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.  
*G.D.I.* = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften or Collitz-Bechtel.  
*Gerh. A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.  
*G.G.A.* = Gottingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.  
*Head, H.N.*<sup>2</sup> = Head, Historia Numorum. Revised Edition, 1910.  
*I.G.* = Inscriptiones Graecae.<sup>1</sup>  
*I.G.A.* = Rohl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.  
*Jahrb.* = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*Jahresh.* = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.  
*J.H.S.* = Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
*Klio* = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).  
*Le Bas-Wadd.* = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.  
*Michel* = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.  
*Mon. d. I.* = Monumenti dell' Instituto.  
*Muller-Wies.* = Muller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.  
*Mus. Marbles.* = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.  
*Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt.* = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.

<sup>1</sup> The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

- |             |      |   |   |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I    | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.                 |
| „           | II.  | = | „ „ aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| „           | III. | = | „ „ aetatis Romanae.                                      |
| „           | IV.  | = | „ Argolidis.  |
| „           | VII. | = | „ Megaridis et Boeotiae.                                  |
| „           | IX.  | = | „ Graeciae Septentrionalis.                               |
| „           | XII. | = | „ Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.                      |
| „           | XIV. | = | „ Italiae et Siciliae.                                    |

*Neue Jahrb. Phil.* = Neue Jahrbucher für Philologie.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.

*Num. Chr.* = Numismatic Chronicle.

*Num. Zeit.* = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

*Philol.* = Philologus.

Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.

Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.

Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.

Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.

*Rev. Arch.* = Revue Archéologique.

*Rev. Ét. Gr.* = Revue des Études Grecques.

*Rev. Num.* = Revue Numismatique.

*Rev. Philol.* = Revue de Philologie.

*Rh. Mus.* = Rheinisches Museum.

*Rom. Mitt.* = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

*S.M.C.* = Sparta Museum Catalogue.

*T.A.M.* = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

*Z.f.N.* = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

### *Transliteration of Inscriptions.*

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign, <sup>h</sup>.

*Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.*

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions*.

- ( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.
- [[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.
- < > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

## British School at Athens.

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<sup>1</sup> In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

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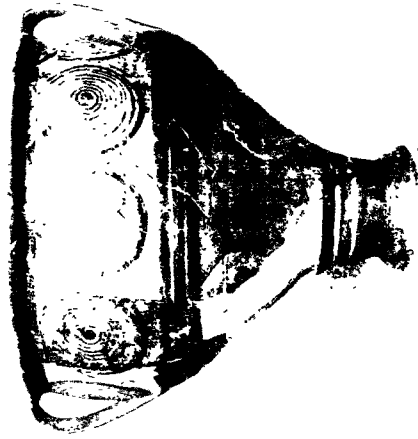
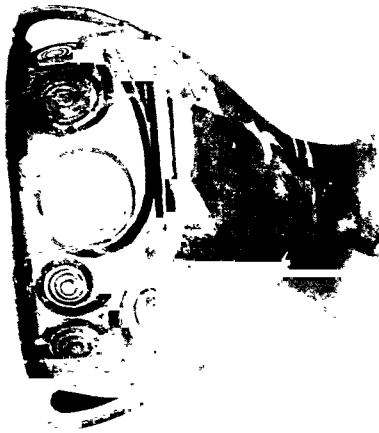
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SPARTAN: MYCENAEAN KRATERS (See Pl. I: 6).





*d*



*c*



*b*



*a*



*k*



*j*



*h*



*i*



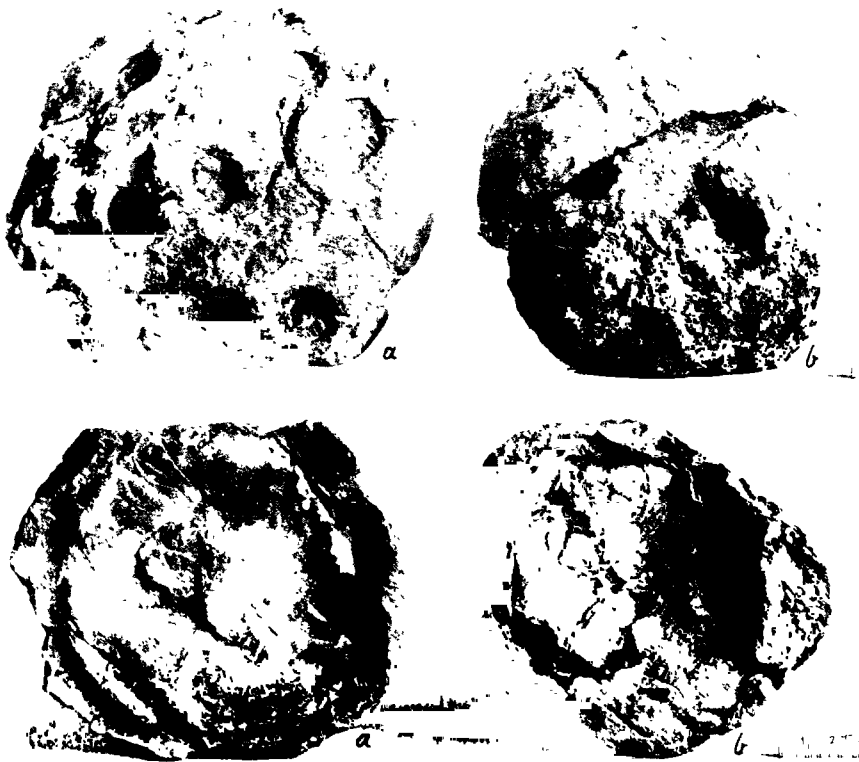
*l*



*e*

SPURIA: MACINTOSH VASES (SCALE 1/5)



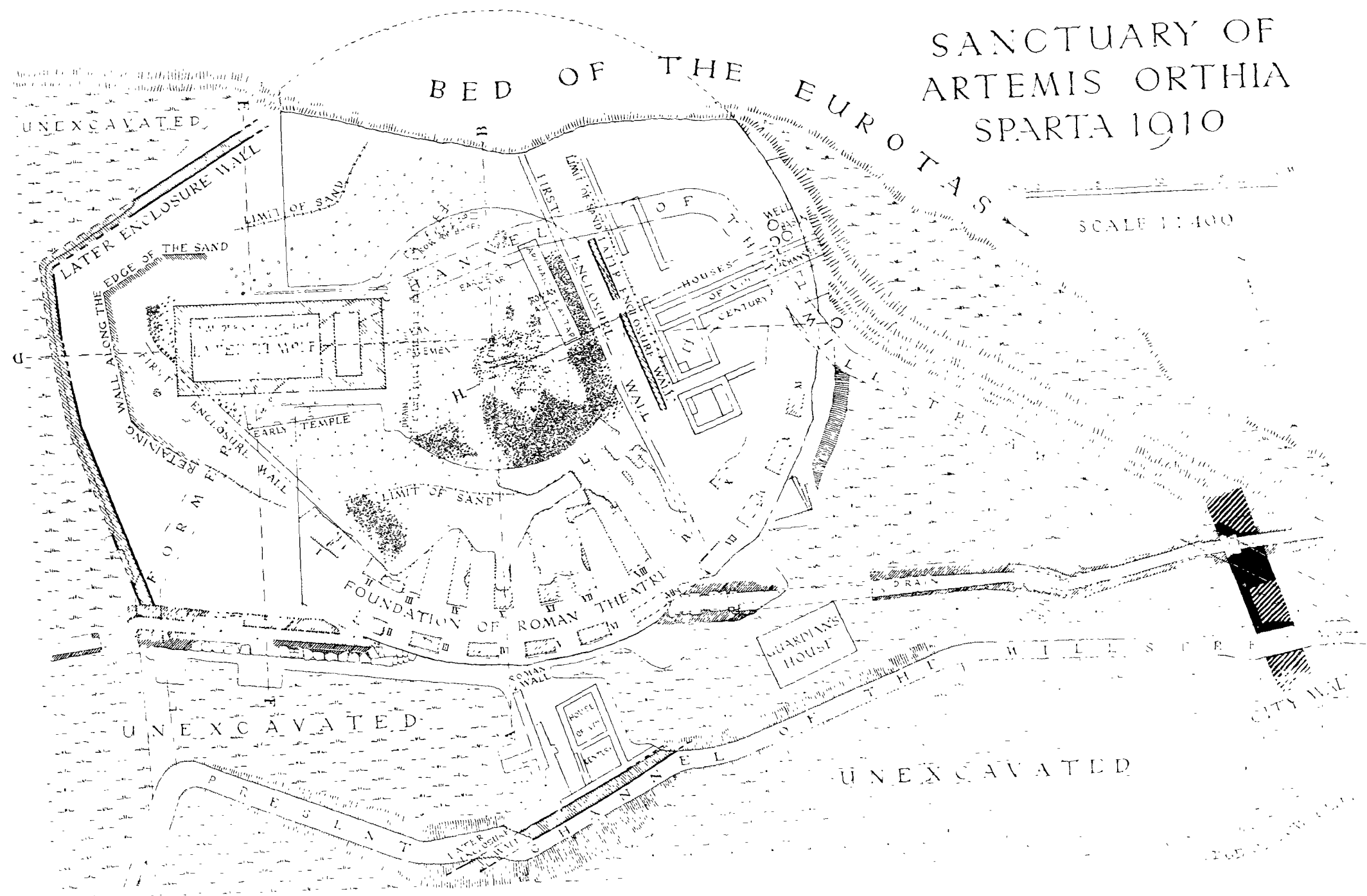


SPARTA: CLAY SEALINGS FOR JARS (SCALE 3 : 8).

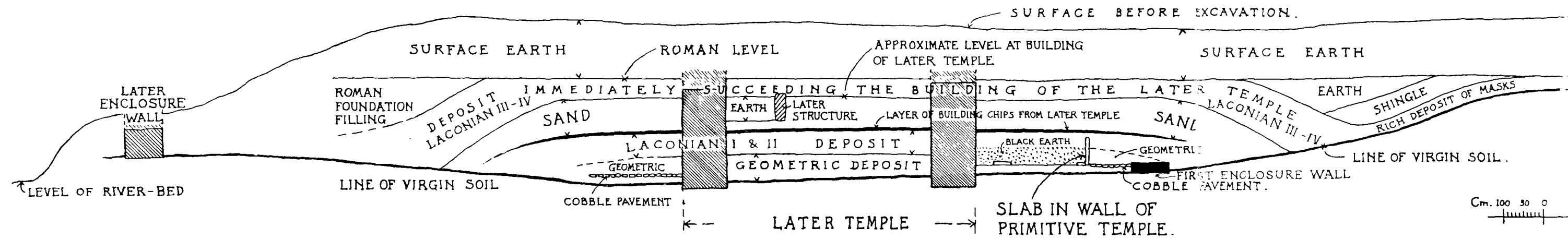




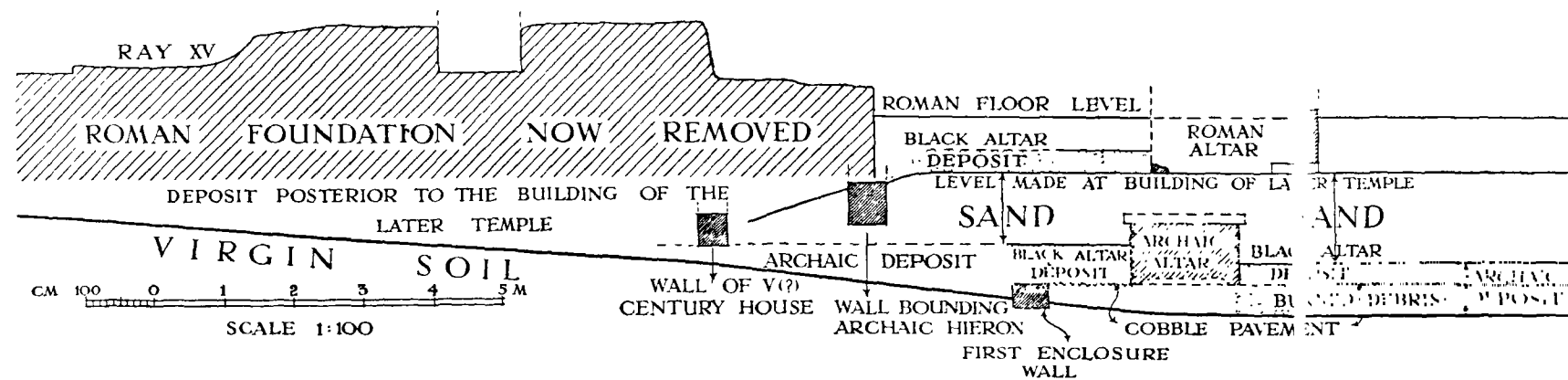
SANCTUARY OF  
ARTEMIS ORTHIA  
SPARTA 1910







A.—SECTION ON LINE E-F IN PLAN (cf. PL. IV.)



B.—SECTION ON LINE G-H IN PLAN (cf. PL. IV.)

Spartan Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.





b



a



d

SPAKIA: BASES FOR STATUES OF BOMONIKAI: a = No. 2720. b = No. 2721. (SCALE: a = 5/8 IN.)

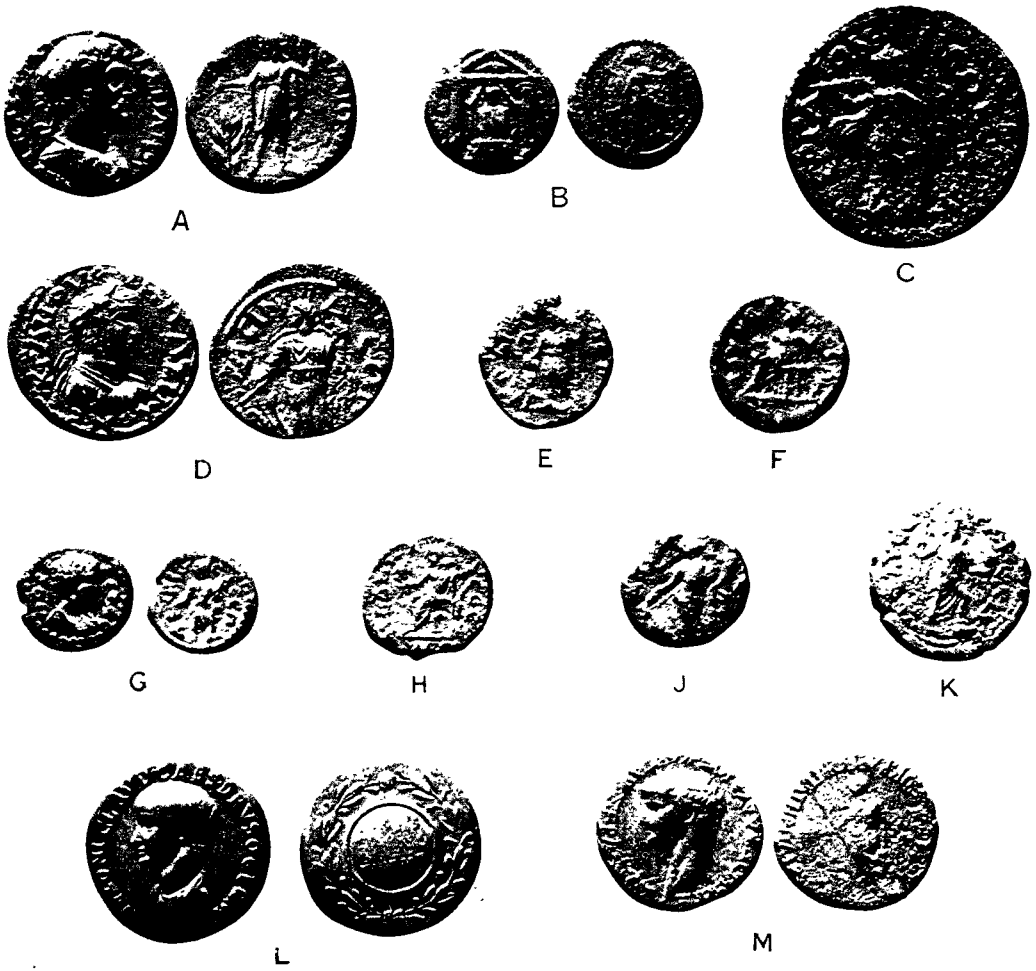




S.W. ASIA MINOR. PAINTED POTTERY (1-10); HAMATHI BURNISHED (17);  
FIGURINES (18, 19).

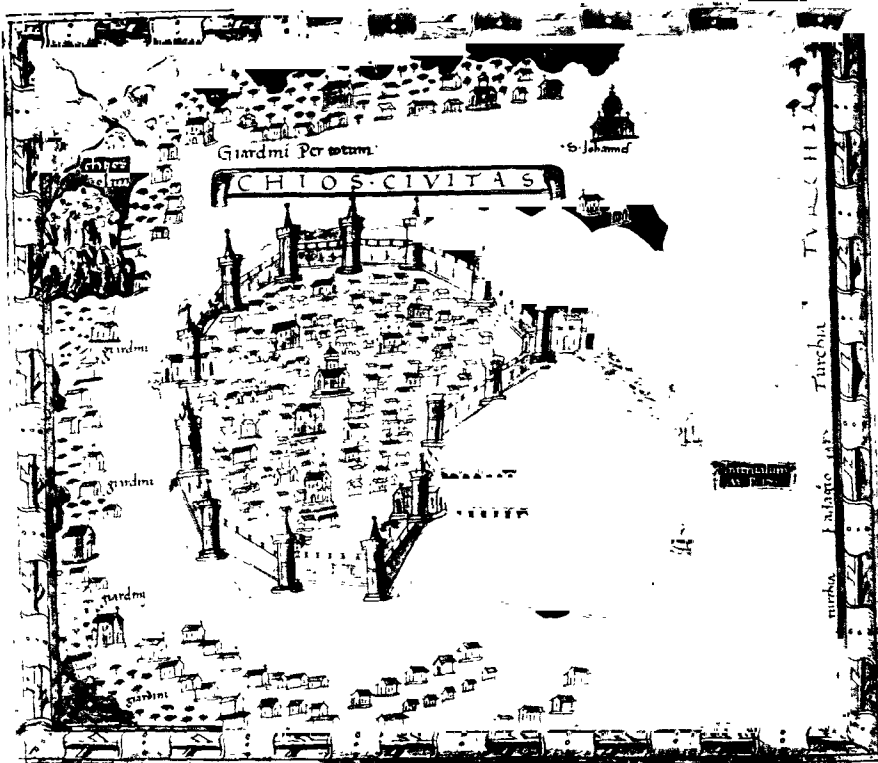






S.W. ASIA MINOR: COINS.





A. THE TOWN OF CHIOS IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. (Add. MSS. 15,760, f. 35 v. 1.)



B. RELIEF OF S. GEORGE AT GENOVA.  
THE LATIN MONUMENTS OF CHIOS.





No. 20.



No. 23.



No. 28.



No. 50.

THE LATIN MONUMENTS OF CHIOS: NOS. 20, 23, 28, 50





No. 44.



No. 46.



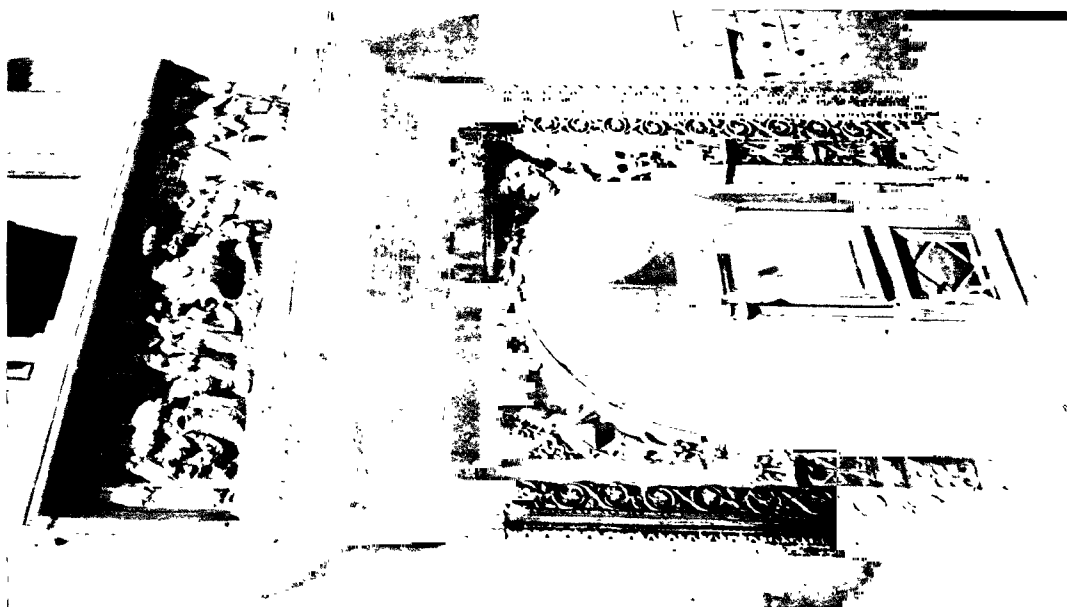
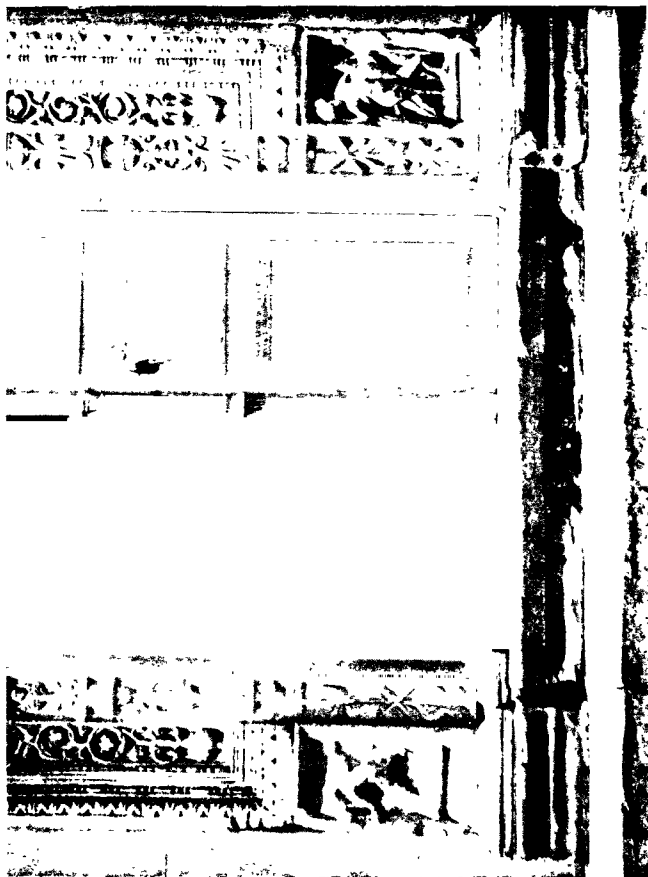
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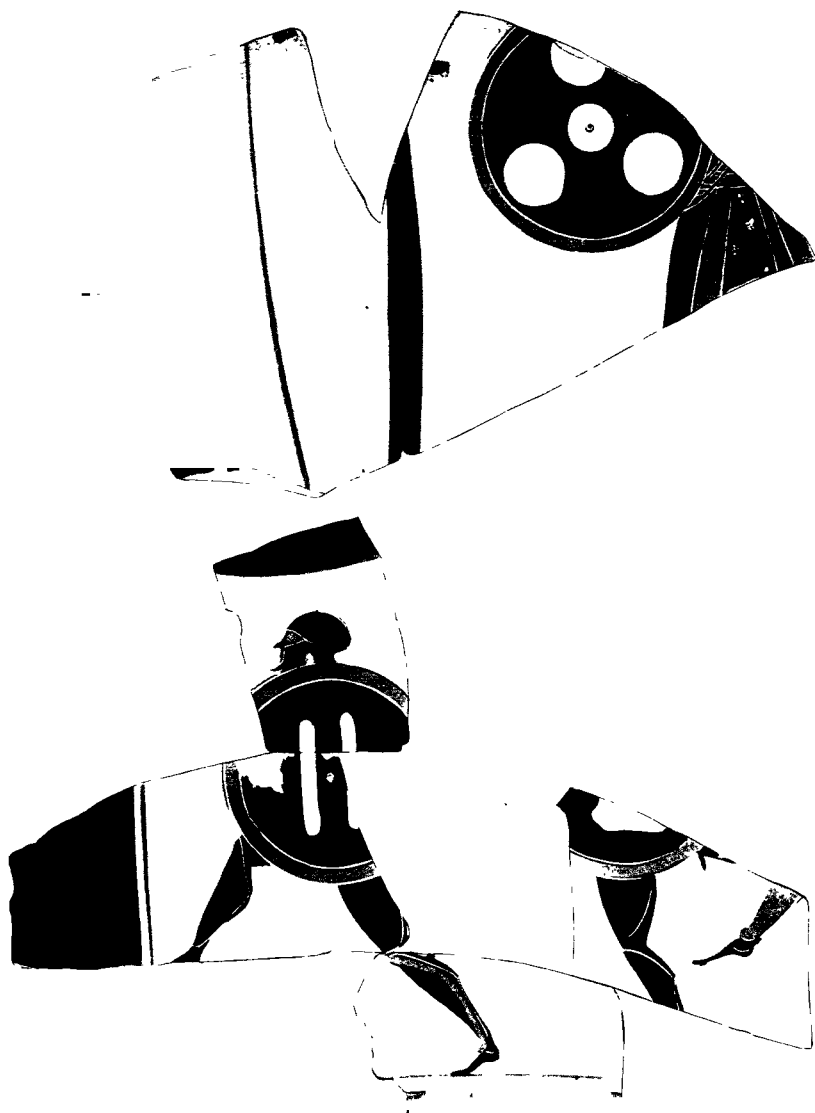






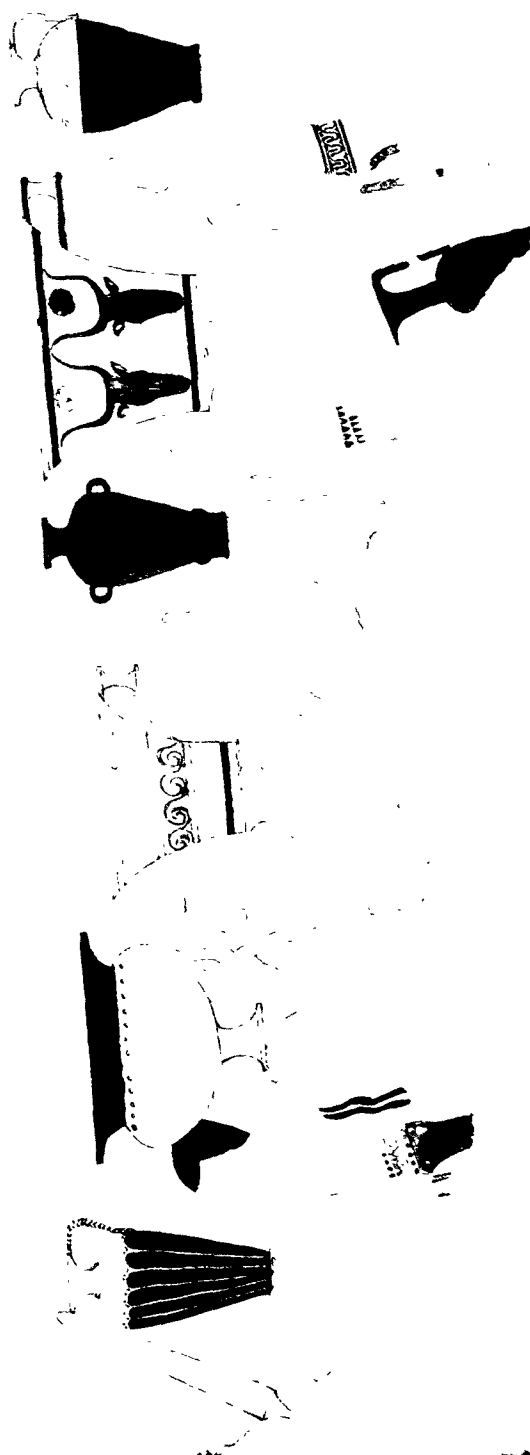
THE LATIN MONUMENTS OF CHIOS. DOORWAY AT CHALKIDY, No. 54.





FRAGMENTS OF A PANATHENAEIC AMPHORA FROM KAMIRÓS (SCALE 1:2)



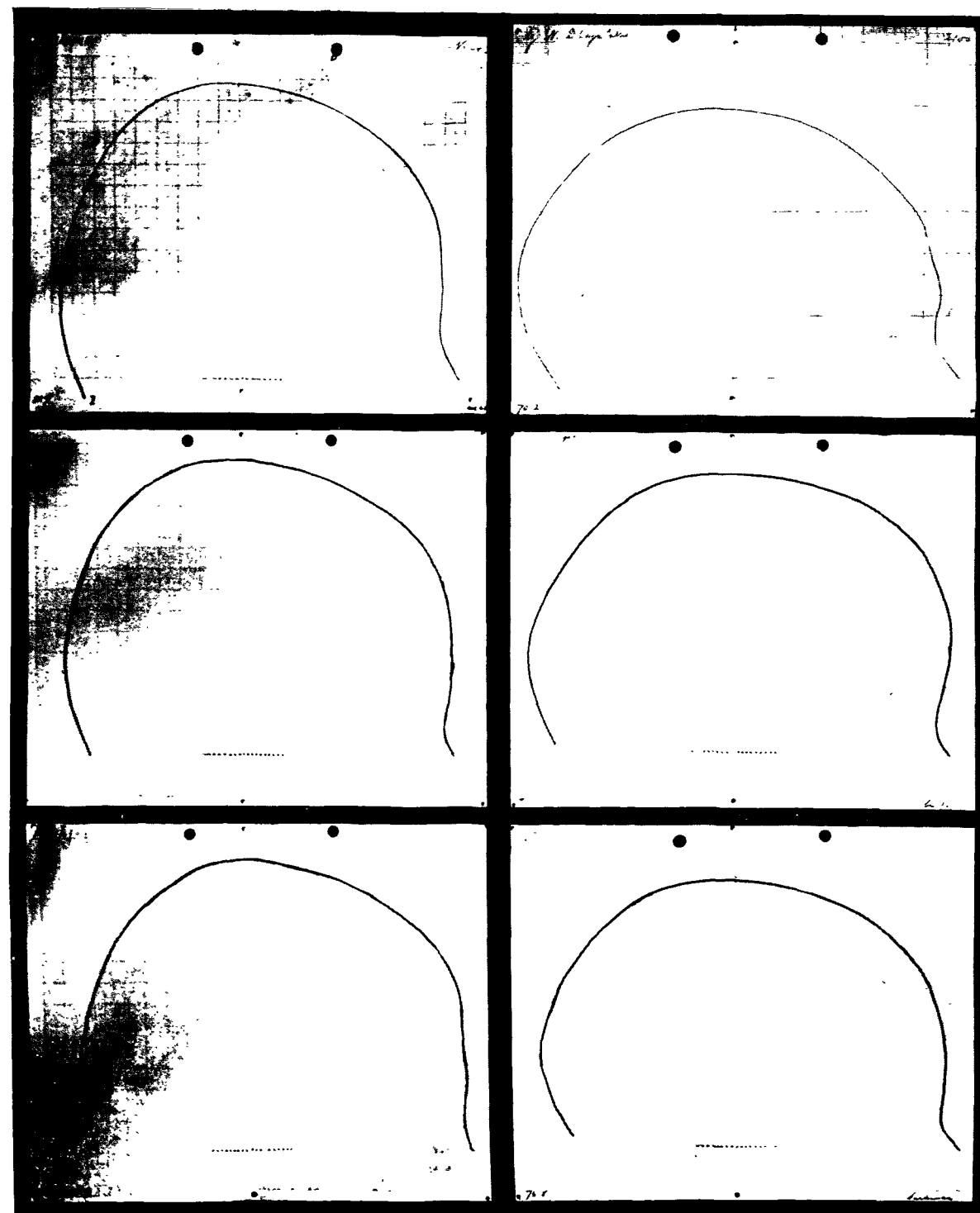
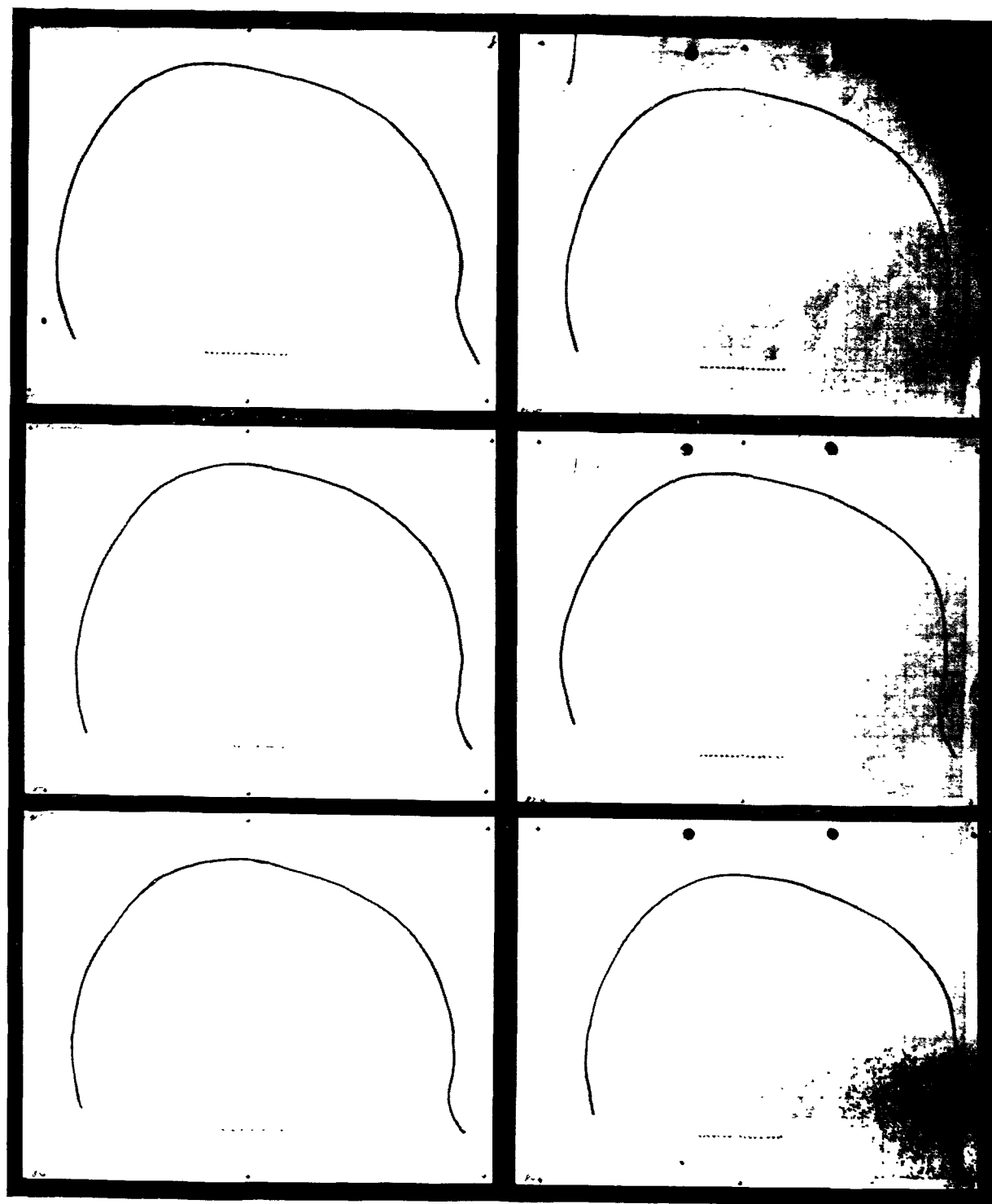


THE SCENE IN FIESCO. AFTER A DRAWING MADE BY R. HAY ABOUT 1837. (B. M. Add. MSS. 20,522, f. 33.)



A

B



SOME DORIAN DESCENDANTS? SAGITTAL CURVES OR CONTOURS OF LIVING HEADS TAKEN WITH AN INSTRUMENT DESCRIBED IN REPORT OF BRIT. ASSOCIATION, 1900, pp. 29-31.

A. a = Tsakonian  
b = .. (see Pl. XVI. a)  
c = ..

d = Sphakiot  
e = .. (see Pl. XVI. b)  
f = ..

B. a = Albani of Mitino (see Pl. XVI. a)  
b = Sphakiot  
c = .. (see Fig. 3)

d = Mencherian Race Type (see Pl. XVI. a)  
e = .. (see Pl. XVI. a)  
f = .. (see Pl. XVI. a)







SOME DORIAN DESCENDANTS?

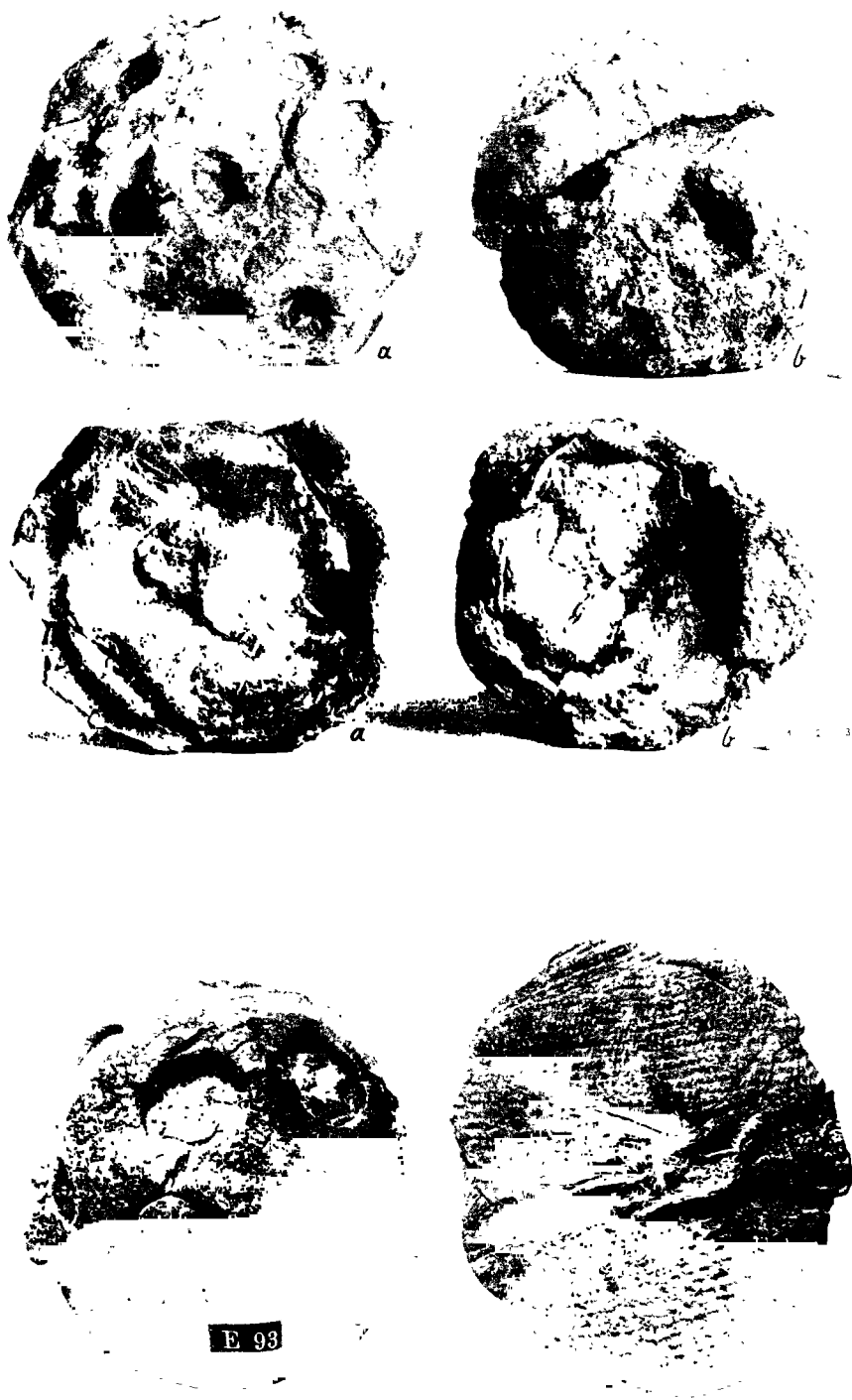
*a* = TSARONIAN OF TIONIDI.  
(Pl. XV. A. *a*)

*b* = SPHAKIOT OF ASKIPHOI.  
(Pl. XV. A. *c*)

*c* = ALBANIAN OF MARTINO.  
(Pl. XV. B. *a*)

*d* = MEDITERRANEAN RACE TYPE.  
(W. Crete.)  
(Pl. XV. B. *c*)





CLAY SEALINGS FOR JARS: *a, b*, FROM MYCENAEAN SPARTA; *E 93* FROM ROMAN EGYPT.





2. ✓  
3. ✓

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